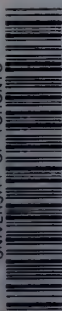


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# THE THEBAN TOMBS SERIES

EDITED BY NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES AND ALAN H. GARDINER

*FIRST AND INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR*

## THE TOMB OF AMENEMHĒT

(No. 82)

COPIED IN LINE AND COLOUR

BY

NINA DE GARIS DAVIES

AND WITH EXPLANATORY TEXT

BY

ALAN H. GARDINER, D.LITT.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

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To

ROBERT MOND, Esq., J.P., M.A., F.R.S.E., F.S.A., M.R.I.,

OF COMBE BANK, SEVENOAKS,

THIS VOLUME

IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED.



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## PREFACE.

THE present volume sufficiently explains its own purpose and that of the new series which it introduces, and all that is needful here by way of preface is the acknowledgment of help and encouragement received by us in many quarters. To the authorities of the Metropolitan Museum of New York we are indebted in various ways: they have themselves in course of preparation an extensive series of monographs on the Private Tombs, with Mr. N. de G. Davies as editor; that Mr. Davies can nevertheless appear as co-editor of our humbler English enterprise is proof of their generous sympathies, which make co-operation with them in a common purpose both possible and pleasant.

The joint authors of this introductory volume, of whom the one is mainly responsible for the plates and the other for the explanatory text, are under deep obligations to Mr. N. de G. Davies for constant and untiring help; to him we owe not only the plans and the execution of the plates containing the ceiling-inscriptions, but also the clearing of the underground chambers, a task neither slight nor pleasant; and there are few pages or plates in the book which do not bear the mark of his valued assistance. To Mr. Ernest Mackay we are indebted for the excellent negatives from which the half-tone plates have been built up. Miss Porter has allowed us to draw on her admirable bibliographical collections. Miss Woodward has provided the book with its valuable indexes. To all these kind friends we here tender our sincere thanks.

In dedicating this volume to Mr. Robert Mond we have done more than express our personal gratitude and regard. For we are confident that all those who have worked at Thebes in recent years will welcome a tribute of esteem which associates his name with one of those many Theban notables whose records he has helped to save from oblivion.

N. DE G. D.

A. H. G.



# THE TOMB OF AMENEMHĒT.


(No. 82.)

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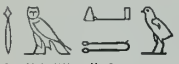
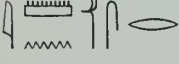



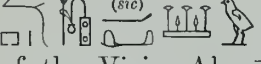






## CHAPTER I.

### AMENEMHĒT AND HIS TOMB.





THE tomb that has been chosen as the subject of this memoir, no. 82 in the Catalogue recently published, is by no means one of the largest in the Theban Necropolis, nor are its paintings, though good, of such surpassing quality as to make them deserving of the precedence here given to them. Its owner was doubtless a man of considerable wealth, but he did not fill one of the highest offices in the State. The choice of this tomb to introduce our series was determined by considerations of a different kind: there is perhaps now extant no tomb of the best Theban period better suited to display the normal scheme of mural decoration or to serve as an object-lesson for the exposition of Egyptian funerary ideas. It is less necessary for students, at the outset, to concentrate their attention upon details of archaeology than to gain an understanding of the religious feelings which prompted so great an expenditure of forethought, not to speak of actual riches. The text of this book, which has assumed proportions that were not originally intended, is not meant to be an exhaustive commentary upon all the details to be elicited from the plates; but by the help of certain extraneous evidence and by utilizing the researches of other scholars, for the most part published in inaccessible periodicals, it aims at giving a more or less complete picture of Egyptian sepulture as practised by the upper classes at one of the most flourishing moments of Pharaonic history.



The scribe  Amenemhēt lived in the reign of Tuthmosis III of the Eighteenth Dynasty (1501-1447 B.C.), one of the most powerful monarchs and conquerors who ever occupied the throne of Upper and Lower Egypt. The stele in the Shrine (Pl. XXV) is dated in the twenty-eighth year of this King, that is to say only a few years after the cessation of those desperate family feuds in which the Queen Hatshepsowet was the central figure. In the tomb of Amenemhēt not a hint of these troublous historical events is found; and though it is possible that he may have played some active rôle in them which gained him the special favour of the Vizier User, to us he presents himself as a peace-loving and industrious bureaucrat who inherited his offices from his father and from the father of his wife.

Before considering Amenemhēt's rank and dignities it will be well to study his family connections and relationships as far as they are ascertainable from his tomb and from the

few other monuments which mention his name. The latter are as follows: (1) A rock-stele at Silsileh (W. bank) outside, and probably contemporaneous with, an empty grotto having over its entrance the cartouches of Amenophis II; this stele has been published by GRIFFITH, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. 12 (1889), pp. 96-7, and again from a squeeze, and with considerable variations, in LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler, Textband*, IV, p. 91; see too SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1053(D). (2) The cenotaph of the Vizier  Ahmōse, or as he is there named  'Amōthu, also at Silsileh; this Vizier receives offerings from his son, the Vizier  Useramūn,<sup>1</sup> who was often called  User for short. Behind Useramūn his retainers are depicted in three rows, headed by  "the steward of the Vizier, the scribe who reckons the Upper Egyptian corn of Amūn, Amenemhēt," who is none other than the proprietor of our tomb. Separated from him by one person is  "the herald of the Vizier Bak"; in addition to him we need only mention the first and second figures in the second row of retainers, namely  "the steward and scribe Hamashu," and  "the herald of the Vizier Ahmōse." Some of the inscriptions of this cenotaph were published by LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, III, 25 bis, o, p, and op. cit., *Textband*, IV, p. 90; the whole has been edited, but apparently not very correctly, by GRIFFITH, op. cit., pp. 103-105; see too SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1049(B). The above quotations are taken from a carefully corrected copy which I owe to the kindness of M. Legrain. (3) Several cones, which name  "the scribe who reckons the grain of Amūn, the steward of the Vizier, the chief of the weavers, Amenemhēt," either as  "begotten of the overseer of ploughed lands, Dhutmōse," or as  "born of Antef" (see below, p. 24).<sup>2</sup> (4) Sethe (*Urkunden*, IV, 1049[A]) identifies with our Amenemhēt the owner of a small statue (holding stele) whose name and title were  "the scribe who reckons the grain in the granary of Amūn, Amenemhēt"; this statue is no. 2316 in the Berlin collection, and its inscriptions are published *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den königl. Museen zu Berlin*, vol. V, p. 52. The identification is tempting, but is rendered very doubtful on account of the name of the wife being given as  Marytamūn.

A genealogical tree, marking the more serious conjectures or doubts with a note of interrogation, is given on the opposite page.

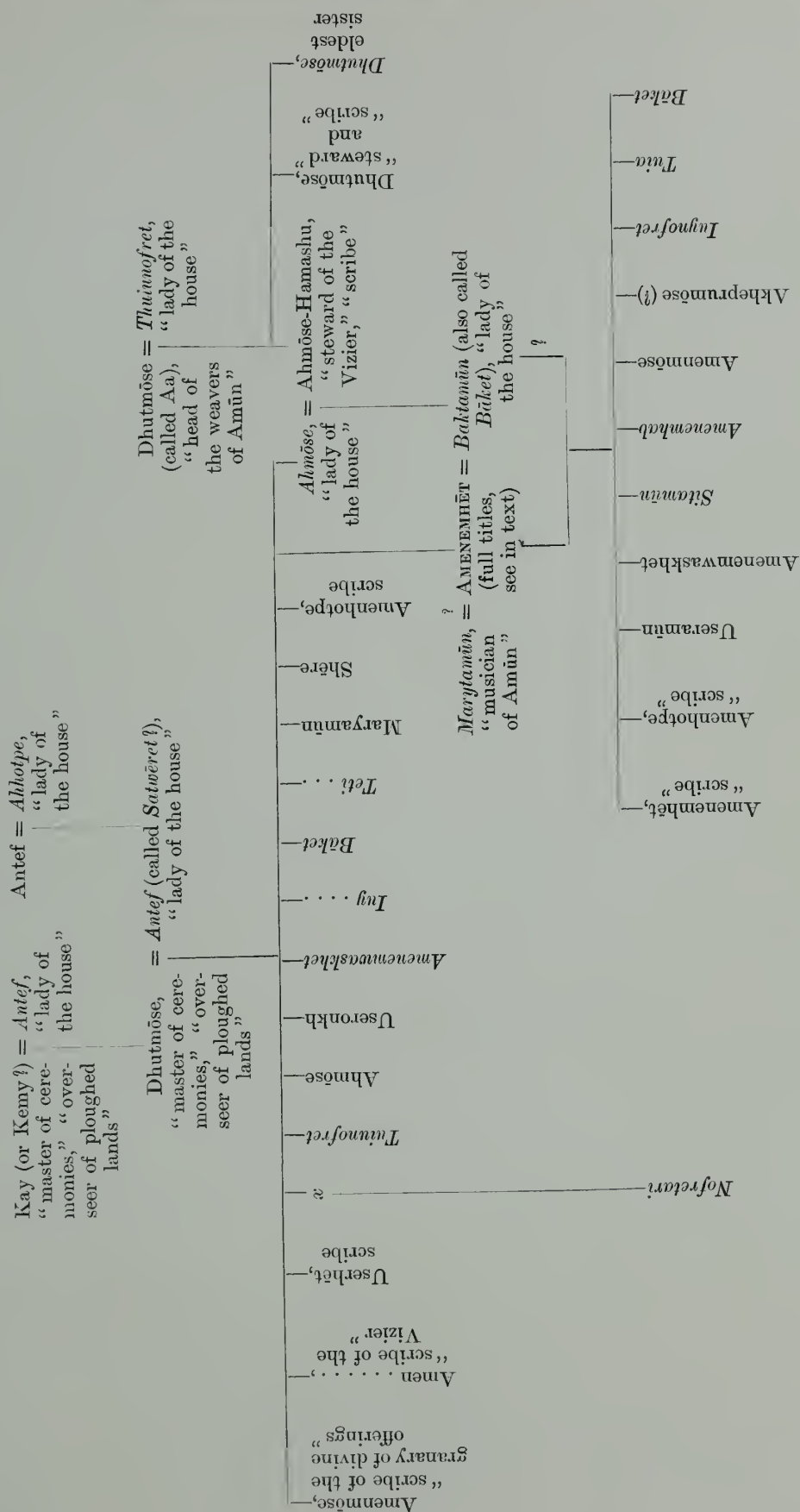
FATHER,  Dhutmōse, (1) and (3), and very often in the tomb. He bore the titles  "overseer of ploughed lands," Pls. VII, XI (variants,  Pls. XXVII, XLIV, l. 1; ).

<sup>1</sup> Not Amenuser, as I wrongly called him in the Catalogue of the Private Tombs; one of Amenemhēt's sons bears the same name, written  (Pl. xviii, bottom), but with the decisive variant  (*ibid.*, top left).


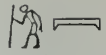


<sup>2</sup> Curiously enough, several cones of the High-priest Amenemhēt, the owner of tomb no. 97, were also found in the shaft of our tomb; these closely resemble no. 282 in Daressy's list. The purpose of these funerary cones is still a subject of dispute; for bibliographical references bearing upon the problem, see SPIEGELBERG-NEWBERRY, *Report on some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, p. 34.








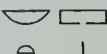
GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE FAMILY OF AMENEMHET.






NOTE.—The names of females are printed in *italics*; for detailed discussion of individuals see in the text.





[1], [3]), and  "master of ceremonies," Pl. XXXVII, *Pyr.*, Spr. 593, l. 2 (variant,  [1], Pl. VII); in one place the general title  "worthy" is substituted for the more specific offices, Pl. XXXVIII, horizontal line. Dhutmōse seems to have been alive when the Hall was being decorated, for he is in Pl. VII called  "the revered one, long of life."



MOTHER,  Antef, whose name is also written  (1), Pl. VII;  (3);  Pl. XXXVII, top left, l. 14;  Pl. XXIX; once she is called  Antefo, Pl. XXV, l. 2. From (2) we learn that she was familiarly known by the name  Satwēret, but the reading is uncertain, the form here given being combined out of the varying copies of Mr. Griffith and the editor of LEPSIUS, *Textband*. Antef bears the ordinary title  "lady of the house."






PATERNAL GRANDFATHER,  Kay (or  Kemy), Pl. VII. He is called  "revered," and bears the same titles as his son Dhutmōse, namely  "master of ceremonies," and  "overseer of ploughed lands."







PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER,  Antef, a "lady of the house," Pl. VII.



MATERNAL GRANDFATHER,  Antef, Pl. VII.

MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER,  Ahhotpe, a "lady of the house," Pl. VII.

WIVES: (1) just possibly  Marytamūn, a  "musician of Amūn," if the Berlin statuette (4) is to be attributed to our Amenemhēt.

(2)  Baktamūn (once written  Pl. IX) or  Bāket, a "lady of the house." The name is found in both forms as that of Amenemhēt's "wife" (, e.g. Baktamūn, Pls. IX, XXXV; Bāket, [1], Pls. XII, XXII); but sometimes, though clearly occupying the position of wife, she is designated as  "the daughter of his sister" (Baktamūn, Pls. XIV, XXXI; Bāket, Pl. IV). There can thus be little doubt<sup>1</sup> that Baktamūn married her maternal uncle; certain parallels can be quoted for the marriages of nieces with their uncles, see *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 48 (1910), p. 50.

WIFE'S FATHER,  Ahmōse-Hamash (Pl. VII), the father of Baktamūn, elsewhere called only  (sic) (2),  Hamashu (Pls. XXXVI, l. 3; XLIV, top left, l. 2). The name Hamash would appear to be a shortening or pet-name for Ahmōse, though one of several such;  was another equivalent, and one which might have been used by the Egyptians to transcribe the name of the prophet Amos; and a third is  Thebes, tomb no. 224; cf. in English Rob, Bob, Bobby, all variations of Robert.<sup>2</sup> Ahmōse-Hamash bore the title  "steward of the Vizier," (2), Pls. VII, XXXVI, XLIV, in addition to the epithets "the energetic one who did his bidding" and the general title of "scribe," Pl. VII.









WIFE'S MOTHER,  Ahmōse, a "lady of the house," the mother of Baktamūn, Pls. VII, XXXVI, XLIV. But Baktamūn being the "sister's daughter" of Amenemhēt, Ahmōse was not merely his mother-in-law, but at the same time his sister. In document (1)  "his sister Ahmōse" occupies a






<sup>1</sup> Sethe (*Urkunden*, IV, 1050) appears to think that Baktamūn, when called "daughter of his sister," cannot yet have enjoyed the position of a legitimate wife.





<sup>2</sup> On this subject see further SETHE, *Über einige Kurznamen des neuen Reiches*, in *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 44 (1907), pp. 87-92.










prominent position, no relatives of Amenemhēt being named besides her except Amenemhēt's parents, his wife, and his children. Whether Ahmōse was a full sister or only a half-sister of Amenemhēt is unknown.


WIFE'S GRANDFATHER,   Dhutmōse, called  Aa—unless  Didi is to be understood. This man, who was Baktamūn's father's father (Pl. VII), bore the title     "head of the weavers of Amūn."







WIFE'S GRANDMOTHER,      Thuiunofret, a "lady of the house," wife of the preceding.






WIFE'S PATERNAL UNCLE,   Dhutinōse, a  "steward" and  "scribe," Pl. VII, where the pronoun "his" obviously refers to Hamash at the head of the row.




WIFE'S PATERNAL AUNT,   Dhutmōse, the "eldest sister" (    ) of Hamash, Pl. VII.



BROTHERS AND SISTERS. Here difficulties occur, since the words "brother" and "sister" were undoubtedly employed very loosely. It seems likely that these terms could be used for any contemporaries with whom one was closely associated. The word "sister" may also mean "wife," and if, therefore, a woman who is called "his sister" immediately follows a man who is qualified as "his brother," it is doubtful whether she is the wife of the latter, or whether the pronoun refers in both cases to Amenemhēt, to whom she might then be a real sister. Lastly, there is a strong probability in one case that the word "sister" is equivalent to "brother's daughter" (see below).


(1)  Ahmōse, doubtless a real sister; already discussed under the heading WIFE'S MOTHER.

(2)   Amenmōse,     "scribe of the granary of divine offerings." The prominence of this man in the family banquets depicted in Pls. V, XV makes it probable that he was a true brother.



(3)   Amen . . . . ,    "scribe of the Vizier," Pls. VI, XV, immediately after the preceding.

(4)   Userhēt, Pls. VI, XXIII, in the latter case with the title  "scribe"; since (Pl. XXIII) he performs ceremonies before Amenemhēt, he was probably a real brother.





(5)     Tuiunofret, a sister, Pl. VI.

(6)  Ahmōse, Pl. XVI, a "brother," with an obscure title.





(7)     Useronkh, Pl. XVI;    "assessor of Amūn."

(8)   Amenemwaskhet, described as sister, Pl. XV.

(9)     Iuy . . . . , a sister, Pl. XVI.





(10)     Bāket, a sister, Pl. XVI.

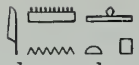

(11)     Teti . . . . , a sister, Pl. XVI.

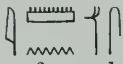

(12)     Maryamūn, a brother, Pl. XV, third register.


(13)     Shēre, a brother, Pl. XVI, third register.

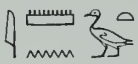
(14)     Amenhotpe, a "scribe," Pl. XVI, third register.

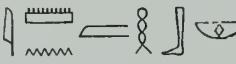
CHILDREN. (1)    Amenemhēt, a  "scribe"; occupies the first place in (1) and in Pl. XVIII; he makes offerings to his parents, Pls. V, XIV, XXXV; and in Pl. VIII he appears as the "director of constructions upon this tomb."


(2)  Amenhotpe, a  "scribe"; second in Pl. XVIII, but fourth child in (1); since, however, he makes the funeral offering opposite his elder brother Amenemhēt, Pls. X, XXXV, he was probably really the second son.


(3)  Useramūn, Pl. XVIII, p. 108; variant writing,  Pl. XVIII, where he makes the funeral offering. He possibly died young, not being named in document (1).




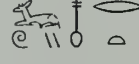
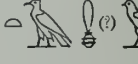

(4)  Amenemwasket, Pl. XVI, lowest row, Pl. XVIII, p. 108; making the funeral offering, Pl. XXI; also absent from document (1).


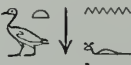

(5)  Sitamūn, the eldest daughter, Pls. XV, XVIII, XXI, and p. 108; not in document (1).

(6)  Amenemhab, the second daughter; Pls. XV, XVIII, XXI, XXXV, and (1).




(7)  Amenmōse, a son mentioned only in the Burial-chamber, Pl. XXXV.







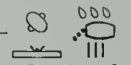
(8)  Akheprumōse is the name of a son as read by Griffith in document (1); if the reading be correct, and there is some reason to doubt it, this would show that document (1) dates from the reign of Amenhotpe II, with whose prenomen the name is formed. The squeeze utilized in LEPSIUS, *Textband*, was obviously illegible at this point.




(9), (10), and (11). Three daughters named in (1) and nowhere else; they are given as  Inyofret,  Tuia, and  Baket by LEPSIUS, *Textband*, but as , , and  by Griffith.

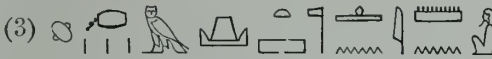







NIECE. The name  Nofretari is given as that of a  "brother's daughter" of Amenemhēt in Pl. XXI, where she accompanies Amenemhēt's children as though she had been adopted into the family. In Pl. XVIII it is obviously the same person who is called  "his sister," the scenes being identical in almost every respect. Whether the sister Nofretari mentioned in Pls. VI, XV lowest row, is the same person or not seems doubtful.



From these tedious genealogical details we return to Amenemhēt himself and to the consideration of his offices and duties. His titles are but few in number, but are found in almost every possible order and combination. A nearly complete enumeration has been given in SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1049-1054; here it will suffice to co-ordinate the results:—



(1)  "scribe"; alone *e.g.* Pls. X, XII, XIII, XXIII. This general description of Amenemhēt's activities is often qualified by an addition referring to one of his more specific functions; thus  "scribe of the Vizier," Pl. XXXVIII, bottom, ch. 134, l. 8;  "scribe who reckons the grain," Pl. XXXVII, bottom, ch. 80, l. 1, see below under (3).















(2)  "steward of the Vizier" *passim*. Once expanded to  "steward of the Vizier of the [Southern City]," *i.e.* Thebes, Pl. XXXI. More often abbreviated as  "steward," *e.g.* Pl. XLIV, bottom, l. 14, especially in combination with other titles. With explanatory additions:  "acting as controller over all his possessions," Pl. XIV;  "(steward) who reckons (all) that exists," Pl. XXVII (1); —  "who reckons the people," Pl. XXVII (2), *cf.* Pls. VIII, XI, XXXI; —  "who reckons the grain," Pl. XXVII (3), *cf.* Pls. X; XLIV, bottom, l. 21, but in this case one may be in doubt whether the addition is explanatory or






refers to title (3) below, since such combinations are found as  Pl. XXII; —  “who reckons the fields,” Pl. XXVII (4); —  “who reckons the metal,” Pl. XXVII (5).

(3)  “who reckons the corn in the granary of divine offerings of Amūn,” Pl. XXXVII, ch. 133, l. 18, *cf.* Pls. IV, XXXV. Varied and contracted in many different ways, *e.g.*  (so Legrain; Griffith ) , document (2);  Pl. XLIV, below l. 20;  Pl. XXXVIII, horizontal line. This title seems never to occur alone, but always follows either the word  (*passim*) or the expression  (*e.g.* Pls. XXII; XXXVII, ch. 133, l. 18).

(4)  “head of the weavers of Amūn,” *e.g.* Pls. IV, VII, XXXV; abbreviated,  Pl. XIV. This and the two remaining titles are much less frequent, and clearly less important, than nos. 1–3.

(5)  “overseer of ploughed lands,” Pl. XI;  Pl. VII.

(6)  [lacuna]  “master of ceremonies [of the estate of Amūn?],” Pl. VII, *cf.* Pl. XXXI. The lacuna is due to intentional erasure, and must have contained the name of Amūn; no earlier parallel than *Pap. Unamūn*, I, 1,      . . . . .        can be quoted.

We have no means of telling in what order Amenemhēt obtained his several offices, but the first step, of course, was to acquire that proficiency as a “scribe” which was needful in every bureaucratic career. From his father and paternal grandfather Amenemhēt inherited the titles “overseer of ploughed lands” and “master of ceremonies.” Of the former title little can be said, except that it occurs occasionally in the Eighteenth Dynasty<sup>1</sup>; whether Amenemhēt was “overseer of ploughed lands” in the service of the State or of the priesthood of Amūn is not clear. The title here translated “master of ceremonies” appears to mean literally “elder one of the forecourt,” and is of very ancient origin. There were both secular “masters of ceremonies” and “masters of ceremonies” attached to the temples. When the Vizier Rekhmerē was first introduced at Court, he was received by the      who ushered him into the Presence (NEWBERRY, *Life of Rekhmara*, Pl. vii, l. 6); it is almost solely upon this passage that my translation rests. In Amenemhēt’s case the expression may well have possessed a merely honorific significance; it seems clearly to refer to a position in connection with the temple of Amūn.

It is interesting to find titles passing from father to son in this way; but whether a man could arbitrarily bequeath offices such as those in question is exceedingly doubtful. However this may be, Amenemhēt seems to have obtained most of his distinctions by the aid of family connections. By far the most important post to which he attained was that of “steward of the Vizier” User. To be steward (literally “overseer of the house,” apparently the same as the Gk. *οἰκονόμος*) in the household of the Vizier was no small thing, for the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *imy-r? hbsw n 'Imn*, title of Menna, Theban tomb no. 69; an *imy-r? hbsw n Mntw nb Wst*, *Proc. S. B. A.*, vol. xxiv (1902), p. 246.




Vizier was the most important man in the kingdom after Pharaoh himself. There were two Viziers in Egypt about this time; but though his administrative province did not extend below Siût, User appears to have been exceptionally rich and powerful, like his father the Vizier Ahmōse before him. Amenemhēt was probably sole steward of User, for he claims to have had complete control over the latter's possessions. No doubt User had laid to heart the dictum of the ancient Pharaoh who counselled his son to honour and enrich his subordinates, as the most certain way of ensuring their honesty<sup>1</sup>; and so Amenemhēt may have attained to very considerable wealth. His functions consisted mainly in attending to his master's various sources of revenue, and in keeping strict account of the serfs, the fields, the corn, and the precious metals belonging to him; but in addition to this he was wont to be entrusted, as his stele narrates, with various building and similar works, not only on the Vizier's own behalf, but on behalf of the monarch himself. Now there seems every reason for believing that Amenemhēt obtained this important post by the influence of his wife and his sister; for Ahmōse-Hamashu, the man who had married Amenemhēt's sister Ahmōse, and whose daughter Amenemhēt was himself later to marry, was also "steward of the Vizier," and had doubtless held this rank under User's father the Vizier Ahmōse. Perhaps it was on the death or retirement of Hamashu that Amenemhēt stepped into his shoes.

From the same side of the family was derived also the title of "head of the weavers of Amūn," the father of Hamashu having held this rank. The Theban god Amūn, among the many craftsmen in the employ of his priesthood, possessed weavers whose task it was to produce the cloth from which the priestly vestments were made. The "head of the weavers" had to superintend their labours and to make himself responsible for the production of the requisite amount; the position was an honourable one, and it was held, for example, by no less a personage than Senenmut, the famous minister of Hatshepsowet.<sup>2</sup>

The sole dignity of Amenemhēt that was not transmitted to him by one relative or another was that of "reckoner of the grain (exactly the Ptolemaic term *σιτομέτρης*) in the granary of divine offerings of Amūn." This official<sup>3</sup> must have been connected with the registration of the amounts of corn delivered to and withdrawn from the particular granary which supplied the grain for the loaves and cakes used in the ritual of divine offerings. How far the post was a sinecure is unknown to us.

We are thus relatively well informed as to the external facts of Amenemhēt's station in life and family affairs; of his individuality and of the accidents of his career next to nothing can be ascertained. A considerable portion of his career lay behind him in the twenty-eighth year of Tuthmosis III, the year from which the stele in his tomb is dated; and the position of the rock-inscription at Silsileh makes it likely that he lived on into the reign of Amenophis II. Long before his death, therefore, his tomb was complete<sup>4</sup> and a source of admiration and

<sup>1</sup> "Magnify thy great ones, that they may carry out thy laws; one who is rich in his house has no partiality," *Pap. Petersburg*, 1116 A, recto, ll. 42-3.

<sup>2</sup> SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 408. I take this opportunity of drawing attention to the hieratic writing , *Hieroglyphic Texts . . . . . in the British Museum*, Part V, Pl. 29, which is conclusive for the pronunciation Senenmut as against the usually accepted Senmut.

<sup>3</sup> The owner of Theban tomb no. 231, a certain Nebamūn, bore this same title at an apparently rather earlier period.

<sup>4</sup> The dated stele was an afterthought, since it is superimposed on painted scenes.

envy to his fellow citizens. No more advantageous site for it could possibly have been chosen than that which it occupies high up on the front face of the hill of Sheikh Abd el Gurnah.<sup>1</sup> His tomb-door now overlooks the Ramesseum; and the view over the cultivation to the Nile, and beyond the Nile again to the three opalescent peaks of the eastern hills, is one of extreme beauty. In this corner of the Amente the best company of the time were congregated; only a few yards away from Amenemhēt's sepulchre was the great gallery-tomb of Ahmōse, the father of his patron the Vizier User; and User himself was not much farther distant, whether ultimately he was buried in his higher tomb—that which has a painted burial-chamber (no. 61)—or whether he elected to rest in the larger tomb with the fine façade (no. 131), formerly so conspicuous a landmark in this part of the Neeropolis.

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<sup>1</sup> For the position of the tomb (no. 82) see GARDINER and WEIGALL, *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, Pl. iii; and for the view from the tomb-door see *op. cit.*, Pl. iv, a photograph taken from a point not more than a hundred yards away.

## CHAPTER II.

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB.

## 1.—ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES (see the plans and sections Pls. XXXIII, XXXIV).

OUTER COURTYARD.—The site was prepared by levelling a considerable court, indicative of the breadth of the chambers within, and the rock being of poorest quality the façade and shelving sides of the court were faced with rubble, which was covered with a surface of mud and lime-plaster. A slight batter was given to the façade. A burial-shaft in this courtyard, faced at the top with brick, has recently been cleared by Mr. Ernest Mackay, and found to lead to no subterranean chambers; its relation to our tomb is uncertain.

ENTRANCE.—The Entrance-passage is quite unusually long, and constitutes practically the only abnormal feature in the plan of the tomb. A number of inscribed stones, found partly by Mr. Davies among the rubbish of the underground chambers, and partly by Mr. Mackay (Jan., 1914) in clearing the two northern caves, belong to built-up doorways in the façade and at the inner end of the Entrance-passage. (1) The doorway in the façade cannot have been very noble or very heavy, for the rock is not cut to give a level base; it probably consisted only of thin slabs leaning against the face at a slope. Of the limestone lintel there remains a slab, very yellow as if long exposed to wind and weather; the lintel had three lines of hieroglyphs at least, giving the name and titles of Amenemhēt. The jambs were of sandstone, and the fragments show broad columns (three at least) of very large signs; that these fragments belong here is indicated by the fact that at the place in the façade where they would stand there are traces not only of lime-plaster but also of sandstone embedded in it. A rough hole to take the pivot of the door is seen in the floor of the Entrance. Provision seems to have been made for ventilation of the tomb when the outer door was shut, as there is an arched and mud-plastered excavation in the roof at this point. It has the appearance of being later, however, and probably dates from a time of subsequent use of the tomb when, after the ruin of the façade, a door was affixed farther in. (2) There was a second doorway of some depth at the inner end of the Entrance-passage, the probable position of the extant fragments being shown in Pl. XXXIII. A very slight indication of the breadth of the door-framing is left in one wall. Below where the reconstructed door-jambs would stand is now an oval hole, only just large enough for a body (see plan); this was probably designed for some later post-Pharaonic burial. Of the outer part of the doorway were found the right-hand portion of the sandstone lintel, inscribed with the titles of Tuthmosis III in blue incised hieroglyphs, and scraps of the limestone jambs, also with blue incised hieroglyphs (see below, p. 26);<sup>1</sup> both lintel and jambs

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<sup>1</sup> In Pl. XXXI, bottom left, *for* "limestone lintel and sandstone doorposts" *read* "sandstone lintel and limestone doorposts."



show the rebate indicated in the plan. Parts of the limestone cheeks of the doorway also remain, and show traces of painted figures. A fragment of yet another sandstone lintel, with fragments of *hotp di n̄sut* formulae, is thought by Mr. Davies, from whose notes all the above statements are derived, to have formed the inner termination of the doorway. Exactly how the doorway may have looked from the side of the Hall, where there are left fragments of a painted wall-framing (below, p. 26), is not clear to the present writer.

HALL.—From the Entrance we pass into a broad but not deep Hall at right angles to the axis of the tomb. Already at the time when the tomb was excavated there existed a natural fault extending over the middle of the northern wing. The rent had to be filled up with mud and stones before the plaster was laid on. Two rough burial chambers have been hollowed out at some later date in the right-hand wing, and a recess at the end of the left wing seems to have been cut in the same intention. The doorway to the Passage is surrounded by a framing moulded in projecting plaster, which is painted to imitate red granite.

PASSAGE.—Through a doorway of no great thickness we enter into the Passage, a long narrow chamber somewhat lower than the Hall. There are no specifically architectural features here deserving of note, so that we may pass without further delay into the

SHRINE, an almost square room of moderate size, higher than either of the main chambers already described. Half-way across the room a low step raises the floor to a somewhat higher level.

NICHE.—In the middle of the desertward wall of the Shrine has been hewn a niche of considerable size, deep within which were seated the statues of Amenemhēt and his wife Bāket. These statues, which are now wholly destroyed, were moulded in plaster on a rough core of rock.

SHAFT.—The well or shaft giving access to the Hypogeum or subterranean funerary chambers is sunk at the back of the Shrine not far behind the place where the floor is raised to give warning of its presence. It penetrates into the Niche, and is 28 feet deep.

HYPOGEUM (see Pl. XXXIV). At the bottom of the Shaft, on the riverward side, is a little cave probably of later date. On the desert side one passes into a low room through a doorway having a cut sandstone threshold with rebate for door. From the north-east corner of the low room access is had to a second chamber of about the same dimensions. On the south side of the low room (we throughout use the conventional orientation which regards the Nile as flowing due north) a shallow well, formerly covered with sandstone slabs, gives access at a lower level to the

BURIAL-CHAMBER, a fair-sized oblong room with walls out of the square. It has a niche on the desertward (west) side.

The general plan of the tomb having now been described, it is necessary to compare it as a whole with the plans of other tombs, contemporary and anterior. The scheme consisting of hall, axial passage, and shrine with niche, is quite common at Thebes towards the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty (*e.g.* nos. 21, 42, 77, 78, 87, 97, 99, 112, 125, 127). Before the New Kingdom it seems practically unknown, except in the case of the tomb of Sirenpowet I at Assuan (DE MORGAN, *Catalogue des Monuments*, vol. I, p. 153); it is, however, a fairly obvious development of the type with hall and shrine, common alike in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the doorway connecting these two main chambers being extended so as to form a third room of equal importance. Doubtless this development was helped by the analogy of another type of tomb not rare at Thebes, in which a long axial passage leads into a single interior chamber; for such T-shaped tombs *cf.* no. 60 (Twelfth Dynasty), nos. 61, 119 (Eighteenth Dynasty).

## 2.—THE SCHEME OF DECORATION.

§ 1. TECHNICAL DETAILS: THE PREPARATION OF THE WALLS.—High up in the hill of Sheikh Abd el Gurnah the limestone was of too poor a quality to admit of sculptured relief, so that all the tombs in this neighbourhood are adorned exclusively with paintings.<sup>1</sup> The walls were prepared for decoration by covering the rough rock-face with a layer of coarsely ground limestone, varying from half an inch to an inch in thickness; on this was then laid a thin layer of very fine limestone plaster. The smooth surface thus obtained was divided into small squares of red lines by means of a string dipped in ruddle, held taut and snapped, and by the help of these squares the figures and hieroglyphs were then spaced out in red outline.<sup>2</sup> Next the main masses of colour were laid on, which done, the same or another scribe went over all the outlines with a thin red line, particularly conspicuous in the case of white or light-coloured objects. Finally the portions adjacent to the red outline were cleaned up by a brushful of white being drawn along beside it.<sup>3</sup> The red squaring and sketching lines are usually concealed by the layer of paint covering them, or were originally so; in some places where they can now be seen it is because the superimposed mass of paint has faded, as for example often in the case of the subsidiary blue inscriptions that accompany the scenes.

In the tomb of Amenemhēt there is no real incised work except that of the doorways in the Entrance-passage, where the lintel and door-posts are built up of quarried blocks of limestone or sandstone. The doorway in the west wall of the Hall and the entablature above the Niche in the Shrine are moulded in plaster, and were intended to produce the effect of sculpture.

§ 2. THE DECORATION OF THE CEILINGS.—All the ceilings were elaborately and tastefully decorated (see the coloured Pl. XXXII). As in all the Theban tombs of this period, the ceilings of the various chambers are divided into sections by long bands coloured yellow to imitate planks, in accordance with the conception of the tomb as the house of its dead owner. These yellow bands are inscribed with large blue hieroglyphs, religious formulæ reading inwards along the axis of the tomb, or in the case of the Hall reading from centre to sides, as would be most convenient for perusal by a visitor. Separated from the bands by a small white interval are various ornamental patterns which may fitly be dealt with in this place. The pattern<sup>4</sup> marked F in Pl. XXXII is used throughout the Hall; it was deservedly a favourite at this period, and is found again, for example, in tombs 83, 85, and 119. On the soffit of the doorway into the Passage is found D, a style of ornamentation that I have not

<sup>1</sup> Lower down at the foot of the hill, as for example near the tomb of Ramōse (no. 55), there are numerous well sculptured tombs.

<sup>2</sup> In making some excavations in tomb no. 20, Mr. N. de G. Davies was fortunate enough to discover part of an Egyptian painter's outfit; this included just such a reddened string wound around the sticks used as paint-brushes. See DAVIES, *Five Theban Tombs*, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Tomb no. 92 (belonging to the royal butler Suemnut) will be found of great interest as exhibiting its paintings in all the various stages of completion here described.

<sup>4</sup> Published G. JÉQUIER, *Décoration égyptienne*, Pl. xxvii [41]. The same pattern, whether copied in this tomb or elsewhere, is reproduced in CAILLIAUD, *Arts et Métiers*, Pl. 29A [3]; PRISSE, *L'Art*, I, 32 [4]; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, Pl. cccxxxvii *ter*, top left; WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, vol. II, Pl. vii [23], opposite p. 125; *op. cit.* (ed. Birch), vol. I, Pl. viii [23], opposite p. 363.



noticed elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The Passage has the pattern lettered G in the plate, a common combination of zigzags and diamonds. In the doorway from Passage to Shrine is a simpler variety of the zigzag pattern (B). The Shrine displays no less than four different designs, A in the Plate representing the right-hand and C the left-hand pair.<sup>2</sup> Lastly, the ceiling of the Niche is ornamented with type E, which like F occurs again in the neighbouring tomb of the Vizier Ahmōse (no. 83, between the pillars).

§ 3. THE DECORATION OF THE DOORWAYS.—The framing of the doorways breaks the continuity of the adjacent wall-scenes, and conforms throughout to a general type, consisting of two or three lines of hieroglyphs which on the lintel read  $\longleftrightarrow$  from the centre to the sides, and which on the jambs run vertically from top to bottom. These inscriptions contain either the formula  $\downarrow \Delta \equiv$  or the conventional epithet  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ , so that symmetry is assured for the beginnings of the parallel lines. In similar manner all the lines end symmetrically with the name of Amenemhēt. On the sandstone lintel belonging to the door at the inner end of the Entrance-passage the titulary of the reigning Pharaoh was substituted for the formulae relating to Amenemhēt; here the symmetrical effect was given by the parallel disposition of the cartouches. The contrast between the doorways and wall-paintings is heightened in two cases by a different style of treatment: the doors in the façade and Entrance-passage were of stone with hieroglyphs incised and painted blue; that from Hall to Passage consists of projecting moulded plaster painted to imitate red granite and bearing sunk blue hieroglyphs.

§ 4. THE TREATMENT OF BORDERS, &c.—Underneath the scenes about 55 cm. of white plaster is left blank, so as to prevent damage being done by visitors to the tomb; in the doorways the blank portion is as much as 75 cm. in height.

Brick-red.

Yellow.

This unadorned margin is separated from the paintings by a band 105 mm. in height, as in the annexed cut. The black has faded out everywhere that it has been exposed to the light, so that the original effect is now visible only in the Shrine.

The top and sides of the pictures throughout the tomb are bounded by a narrow strip of polychrome ornamentation. This<sup>3</sup> consists of alternating oblongs of red, green, yellow, and blue (or red, blue, yellow, and green) between long green lines; the oblongs are separated from one another by three bars (black, white, black), as indicated in the Frontispiece.

In the three principal chambers, but not where the ceiling is low (*i.e.* in the thickness of doors and in the Niche), the band of oblongs is surmounted by the so-called *kheker*-pattern<sup>4</sup> ( $\text{𓆎}$ ), which varies from 17 to 19 cm. in height, and is coloured blue, green, and red. This is not seen on any of our plates excepting the key-plan in Pl. I.

In the Hall, but there only, the corners of the walls are filled by a vertical stripe of

<sup>1</sup> JÉQUIER, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxviii [42], where the omission of the much-faded black lines entirely alters the character of the design.

<sup>2</sup> JÉQUIER, *op. cit.*, Pl. xvi [29], xvii [30], both rather incorrectly.

<sup>3</sup> Common in Egyptian tombs from quite early times.

<sup>4</sup> See PETRIE, *Decorative Art*, p. 101.

blue paint, which is separated from the band of oblongs above described by a black-and-white pattern<sup>1</sup> shown in many of the plates (*e.g.* Pls. I, IA, VII, VIII).

This ornamentation of the tomb, as above described, contains no new elements. The *kheker*-pattern seems the least old of the designs, not being found in tombs before the Middle Kingdom.

§ 5. THE INSCRIPTIONS.—The mode of treating the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the ceilings and doorways has been sufficiently described in the previous paragraphs. Besides these, however, the tomb of Amenemhēt contains a great wealth of texts, which accompany and eke out the meaning of the wall-paintings. The principal inscriptions, which are either the headings of scenes or else the titles of Amenemhēt and his wife where they are depicted life-size, are very elaborately drawn and painted in various colours. All the minor texts (descriptions or words supposed to be spoken) are of smaller size and coloured blue. Only in the Burial-chamber are semi-hieratic texts found, where they are used for excerpts from the Book of the Dead and the Pyramid Texts.

### 3.—THE WALL-PAINTINGS.

§ 1. GENERAL CHARACTERIZATION.—For the right appreciation of Egyptian painting it must be borne in mind that there is a wide difference between the aims of modern and ancient artists. The end towards which modern art strives—and by modern I mean all art that has directly or indirectly come under the influence of Hellenic culture—may perhaps be described as a sort of optical perfection: modern art seeks to express aspects of the world or creations of the phantasy as the eye does actually or under certain ideal conditions might behold them. Pictures so made naturally comprehend the whole environment within the field of vision, the details being blended and subordinated to one another in accordance with a single harmonious scheme. Egyptian art, like all else Egyptian, reveals its limitations in the lack of any strong desire to transcend the merely practical. The Theban painter, aiming at little else than to display a given subject in as vivid and pleasing a way as possible, deals quite arbitrarily with his materials. The scenes or objects to be displayed are isolated from their accidental and momentary surroundings, and shown under a typical and highly generalized aspect. Natural backgrounds are seldom indicated, except when necessary to the understanding of the picture<sup>2</sup>; superfluous persons or things are rigorously suppressed. If the subject is complex, as when a noble is shown inspecting his estates or workpeople, no serious attempt is made to combine the various groups into a single “composition” to be viewed as a whole,

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<sup>1</sup> On this Mr. N. de G. Davies contributes the following note: “‘Tail edging’: this seems the proper term for this well-known border, since it is clearly the conventional imitation of the spotted tail of a black-and-white animal (a leopard?), showing one full row of oblong spots and two others seen in perspective on the rounded sides, and therefore as imperfect spots. The fringed tuft in which the border ends below in all early examples proves this, for it is exactly similar to the tail which hangs from the skin worn by the *sem*-priest. One may imagine that originally a narrow strip of skin to which an actual tail was attached was used as a cord to raise and lower the leather hangings or mat-work of the room, or as an ornamental border to them. It is only towards the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty that it is used otherwise than as a vertical edging to mural scenes.” For early examples see QUIBELL, *Tomb of Hesy*, Pl. 9; BORCHARDT, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Neuserre*, Pl. 24.

<sup>2</sup> As in the hunting or fishing scenes, where the mountains or river have necessarily to be indicated.



but these groups are displayed *seriatim* in long rows or registers separated by horizontal lines. The comparison that has been drawn between Egyptian painting and picture-writing is both just and illuminating.<sup>1</sup> Writing deliberately aims at conveying explicit ideas to the reader's mind, and exactly the same preoccupation is evident in the suppressions and strict relevancy of Egyptian painting. Still more striking is the analogy between the horizontal registers into which the larger pictures are divided and the lines of writing on a printed page; as the spectator's eye passes consecutively from group to group and from register to register he might seem to be reading rather than looking at a picture. The deliberate exaggeration of size in representations of the king or nobles as contrasted with lesser personages has its counterpart in the capital letters of our books. We can now understand why hieroglyphic inscriptions almost always accompany and are used to supplement the meaning of Egyptian pictures; it is because in purpose and method both are very closely related.

Rapid characterizations such as the above are of necessity one-sided, and must be read with understanding. Subject to the serious reservations that have been made, it would be accurate to say that the Egyptian painter aimed at fidelity to nature and took pleasure in depicting it. He was a good observer, and his powers of observation are apparent wherever departure from the old conventional models has been possible. Although, as has been already pointed out, much selection was used in the treatment of any scene, yet scope enough remained for the elaboration of picturesque details, as for example the birds and the butterflies in our Frontispiece. It should be noted, however, that in the matter of fidelity to nature the Egyptian artist was influenced by conceptions very different from our own. There is good evidence that he was early aware of the principles of perspective,<sup>2</sup> and might therefore, if he had chosen, have applied them in his drawing. Doubtless his abstention was mainly due to a complete failure to realize the possibilities that lay in this direction, as well as to a lack of experimental initiative.<sup>3</sup> But there are also positive grounds that would have made perspective drawing as uncongenial to the Egyptians as it is to untutored peasants and children. There is a natural repugnance shared by all simple minds to that kind of drawing which substitutes oblique lines for straight ones, obtuse or acute angles for right angles, and ellipses for circles. The Egyptians had an ineradicable prejudice in favour of the "realistic" style of drawing which exhibits every object as it really is, that is, as it appears to be in both shape and proportions when examined from the position whence it can best and most completely be seen.<sup>4</sup> This prejudice accounts for some of the peculiarities of Egyptian drawing that to us seem most odd; for instance, the combination of full-face eye with profile visage, or the depiction of both shoulders from a front view over a body in three-quarters aspect and legs seen from the side. No compunction seems to have been felt at depicting the details and parts of objects

<sup>1</sup> "Sind sie doch im Grunde nicht gemalt, sondern geschrieben, und sollen daher auch nicht betrachtet, sondern gelesen werden." (BORCHARDT, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahurê*, vol. II, p. 5.)

<sup>2</sup> A very striking proof of the Egyptians' knowledge of perspective is to be found in the clever use to which it is put in the Pavilion of Medinet Habu, where the levels of battlements and sculptures are cunningly arranged so as to produce an impression of greatly enhanced size. See the very interesting account given by HÖLSCHER, *Das hohe Tor von Medinet Habu*, pp. 8-10.

<sup>3</sup> These questions are discussed in detail by Professor SCHÄFER in his article *Scheinbild oder Wirklichkeitsbild?* in *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 48 (1910), pp. 124-142. Illuminating as are the views there expressed, I cannot but think that Professor Schäfer has greatly exaggerated the Egyptian freedom of choice in the matter.

<sup>4</sup> It must be clearly understood that the term "realistic" is here used in a special and unusual sense.

as though wholly unrelated to anything outside themselves.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that a whole-hearted and consistent application of the principles of "realism," as here understood, would have led to results quite grotesque and indeed impossible<sup>2</sup>; the weakness of "realism" is that it can hardly exist except with a considerable number of concessions to the opposing method of perspective drawing. The Egyptians were far too artistic a people not to make those concessions, but their practice always showed a strong bias towards "realism." It is not difficult to see how this led to the arbitrary treatment of subjects that was noted at the beginning of the section. The rules of perspective may display nature under a specially conditioned and to some extent distorted aspect, still they display it in the only way in which it can actually be seen. In refusing to abide by these rules the Egyptians opened the door to still further licenses; in fact, they clearly did not intend to submit to the dictation of optics at all.

The allegiance which the Egyptian artists refused to optical exactitude they accorded all the more readily to convention. At an early stage in the history of their craft it had been laid down that certain modes of representation were to be adopted, and certain other modes avoided; thus men were to be depicted in the ineonsequent manner described above, and full-face portraits were allowed only in two or three specific cases.<sup>3</sup> At the beginning these preferences were no doubt founded on a just appreciation of what is pleasing and what displeasing; long before the Eighteenth Dynasty, however, they were accepted as a matter of course and acted upon without deliberation. In reversing the direction of figures it was often found convenient to assign to one hand the function of another<sup>4</sup>; thus in Pl. XXVII the Goddess of the East grasps her sceptre in the right hand and her 'ankh'-symbol in the left, while the Goddess of the West, facing in the opposite direction, holds the sceptre in her left hand and the 'ankh' in her right. The Egyptians felt no qualms about this arrangement, since it was sanctioned by convention.

Not only in such details as these, but also in the mode of representing any given subject, the Pharaonic artists show themselves slaves to traditional models. Types were created as early as the Old Kingdom for almost every kind of scene that is depicted in temple or tomb, and the variations from these types are restricted to points of detail. Take for example the hunting scenes; how strong a family likeness is discoverable in all of them! It is true that the huntsman may face towards the right or towards the left, according to individual caprice, or he may be on foot or else driving in his chariot; but everywhere he holds his bow drawn to its full extent before him, and his arrows have pierced the bodies of some of the animals of the desert.<sup>5</sup> Characteristic and picturesque details may be traced from tomb to tomb

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<sup>1</sup> Hence, too, the absence of all shading in Egyptian paintings; in sculptured reliefs of course the moulding obviates this defect.

<sup>2</sup> The same logic which demanded the depiction of both shoulders might equally have demanded the representation of both eyes and both ears.

<sup>3</sup> Female musicians, foreigners in battle scenes and the like, dogs and other animals in hunting scenes.

<sup>4</sup> See ERMAN, *Ägypten*, p. 534.

<sup>5</sup> The sculptor Irtisen, who lived under a Menthotp of the Eleventh Dynasty, describes his accomplishments in a very instructive manner: he tells us that he knew such things as "the poise of the hippopotamus-hunter's arm and the movement of the runner," and how "the one eye looks towards its fellow" (as above stelae, cf. Pl. XXV); this knowledge he imparted again to his eldest son (*Louvre C 14* = LEPSIUS, *Auswahl*, Pl. IX).



and from period to period, as for example the hyena that seeks to pull out the arrow by which it is transfixed.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, so entirely were the draughtsmen under the spell of the old models, that it is the exception rather than the rule that their productions contribute any new particular to our knowledge of Egyptian art or archaeology.

If the account that has here been given be a true one, it is undeniable that Egyptian painting must be both primitive in character and often greatly lacking in individuality. Is it therefore merely of an antiquarian and historical interest to ourselves? The admiration of many competent artists and connoisseurs gives an emphatic negative to this question. The defects that have been enumerated are compensated to a large extent by qualities of a high order. Of these it is perhaps the rare decorative quality that first impresses itself on the visitor to a Theban tomb. For fineness and freedom of line the Egyptians have rarely been surpassed, and they possessed, too, a keen sense of fitness in the utilization of the available space. Their use of colour is not invariably tasteful, but the best examples of Tuthmoside mural paintings leave little room for criticism in this particular. Above all, the conventional style of Egyptian painting is most emphatically a style of its own, quite distinct from the art of any other age or nation. The combination of grace and dignity, vivacity and repose, that is characteristic of the best Theban paintings affords overwhelming proof of the great artistic genius of the old Egyptians.

§ 2. SELECTION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE PICTURES.—In private tombs of the Theban period not only is the choice of the pictures closely dependent on the contemporary conception of the meaning of the tomb, but also their exact position within it is fixed in accordance with a keen sense of situation and orientation.<sup>2</sup> In the outer rooms, those nearer to the external world, the idea of the tomb as the house of its deceased owner predominates over all other ideas, and the wall-paintings depict his earthly occupations and amusements or record incidents of his career. The long passage leading towards the burial-shaft, being essentially a place of transit, was admirably suited for the representation of the funeral procession that must once pass that way. The complementary series of rites which concluded the burial ceremonies and immediately preceded the lowering of the mummy into its last resting-place forms the natural subject of the representations on the opposite wall. The innermost chamber, or shrine, was essentially the place where the living could still commune with their departed relative or friend, and where offerings could be laid before him. Since the dead man was supposed to dwell in the West, and since, moreover, the actual burial-chamber was usually situated below or not far behind the shrine, its western side was regularly occupied by a "false door," or a niche with statues as the equivalent thereof, through which the deceased was imagined to appear in response to "the summons of the offerer." The northern and southern walls are appropriately covered with pictures of the daily meal accorded to the dead man and his family, and with pictures of the special ceremonies performed on their behalf on the periodic feast-days. Besides these representations there are often also scenes

<sup>1</sup> This is found in the funerary temple of Sahurē (BORCHARDT, *op. cit.*, vol. II, Pl. 17), in a tomb at Meir (BLACKMAN, *Meir*, I, Pl. 6), and in several Theban tombs, *e.g.* that of Anena (no. 81).

<sup>2</sup> This remarkable characteristic of the Egyptians is nowhere better illustrated than in the richer burials of the Middle Kingdom, where the mummy lies on its left side within the coffin, on which an eye is depicted opposite the eye of the deceased, while pictures of sceptres and implements are within reach of his hands, and pictures of sandals and anklets are near his feet.

of worship addressed to the sepulchral deities, Osiris or Anubis or the Goddess of the West, in consonance with the strictly funereal associations of the shrine. In those rare cases where, as in the tomb of Amenemhēt, the actual burial-chamber is inscribed, its inscriptions are such as accept as the point of departure the view that the dead man reposes there in mummified condition, and frequently relate to his fortunes and adventures in the Netherworld. In truth, the chamber where the mummy rested was an integral part of the Duat ( $\begin{smallmatrix} \star \\ \square \end{smallmatrix}$ ) or Netherworld, which the Egyptians conceived of as an intricate labyrinth of interconnecting halls and portals. This conception is obviously due to a synthetic effort on the part of theologians to picture to themselves the underground world as it actually existed in the necropolis of every great city. Often, accordingly, the pictures and texts of the burial-chamber are drawn from the compositions known as the Book of that which is in the Netherworld (the *Am duat* of the older Egyptologists) or from the Book of Gates<sup>1</sup>; sometimes, however, its inscriptions are drawn from those more general collections of funereal spells known as the Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dead.

The *details* of the pictures show a similar sensitiveness to environment. In the numerous banqueting scenes of the tomb of Amenemhēt he and his wife sit facing the door through which any visitors from the land of the living must enter; and correspondingly these visitors are depicted with their backs turned to the entrance of the tomb. It is only when Amenemhēt is himself deemed to be visiting deceased ancestors or friends (Pls. VII, VIII), or when he makes offerings to sepulchral deities whose home is in the West (Pls. XXVII, XXVIII), that the latter are shown looking away from the West while he looks towards it. On the north wall of the Passage the gods of Lower Egypt are addressed, and on the south wall the gods of Upper Egypt (Pls. X and XIV). In the funeral procession the movement is towards the Shrine, not away from it (Pl. XIV), and in the rites before the mummy this stands with its back towards the West, indicating its domiciliation therein (Pl. XVII).

The purposeful arrangement of the scenes and their details here described is a tradition inherited from very ancient times; it seems to reach its climax in the Eighteenth Dynasty and then rapidly to decline and pass into oblivion. Already in the reign of Amenophis III the scene of the weighing of the heart before Osiris, though essentially a scene belonging to the domain of the Netherworld, has encroached into the rooms visited by the living (tombs of Menna, no. 69, and of Haremhab, no. 78); in the Nineteenth Dynasty this same scene regularly appears in the chambers above ground. With a similar disregard for appropriateness of position the Ramesside tombs often contain in their outer rooms scenes of offering to the sepulchral deities and excerpts from the Book of Gates.

The choice and arrangement of the pictures in any tomb are thus largely conditioned by the meaning and use of its different rooms and by the position of the walls to be decorated. It is indeed almost solely in the Hall or outermost chamber that a greater freedom of choice is possible. Here some of the scenes are of a hackneyed and conventional type, such as the scenes of fowling, fishing, and hunting, which reappear in almost every tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty large enough to contain them; it was taken as a matter of course that every Theban noble might find enjoyment in these pastimes, though doubtless in reality many of them were bureaucrats who led a sedentary life, or else warriors whose profession left them no time for

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<sup>1</sup> So especially in the royal tombs of Bibân el Mulûk; see, however, also the tombs of User (no. 60) and of Minnakht (no. 87), samples from which are published by MOND, *Annales du Service*, vol. VI, Pls. 3-9.







such amusements. More instructive to us are the individual or personal representations that illustrate the career of a particular man or of a particular class of official; such in the tomb of Amenemhēt are the scenes connected with his position as steward of the Vizier User.

An important factor in the arrangement of the pictures in the Theban tombs is the great love shown by their artists for symmetry. Allusion has already been made to this point in speaking of the inscriptions of the doorways (above, p. 13), and a rapid glance at the synopsis of scenes given below in § 5 will show the same to be true also of the pictures. A scene of feasting or worship on one wall may easily lead to the depiction of a similar scene on a corresponding wall, and in like fashion complementary scenes may be distributed between two opposite walls.

It is important not to over-exaggerate the logical element in the arrangement of the pictures in the Theban tombs; stress is here deliberately laid on such typical and systematic features as can be recognized, but it must never be forgotten that both the plans of the tombs and their decorations were in a great degree subject to the caprice of individual artists. The division into three main parts (Hall, Passage, and Shrine), exemplified in the tomb of Amenemhēt, may indeed be considered as normal, but not in the sense that it is universal or nearly so; there are plenty of tombs that have only two chambers or only a single chamber, and where accordingly the scenes had to be differently distributed; and there are also larger and more complicated tombs that show many deviations from what is here considered as the normal type.

§ 3. PURPOSE AND MEANING OF THE PAINTINGS.—The pleasure and pride of possessing beautiful monuments no doubt constitute the principal reasons why the Egyptian nobles expended so much care upon the decoration of their tombs; and it is but natural if the subjects of the pictures are such as would be likely to enhance the reputation and the credit of their owners. The tomb is the house of the deceased, where, with a placid disregard for the chilling thought of death, he continues his earthly existence and pursues his daily avocations. Just as the houses of the rich may often have been adorned with frescoes illustrative of the tastes and duties of their lords (we are still ill-informed on this head), so also their "eternal habitations" in the necropolis.<sup>1</sup>

The problem here to be considered is whether in addition to this obvious and indisputable purpose the wall-paintings of the tombs possessed a "magical" or mystically potent practical significance. The French school of Egyptologists headed by M. Maspero<sup>2</sup> has persistently affirmed this view, while the German school represented by Professor Erman<sup>3</sup> has as persistently

<sup>1</sup> The tomb is often called  "the place of eternity,"  "the town of eternity," and so forth. Amenemhēt refers to his tomb with such expressions (*inter alia*) as  "his castle which is in the sacred land" (Pl. XL), thereby contrasting it with  "his house of the living" (Pls. XVI, XXVII), the name of his earthly abode.

<sup>2</sup> "La reproduction en peinture ou en sculpture des personnes et des choses assurait à celui au bénéfice de qui on l'exécutait la réalité des personnes et des choses reproduites: le double se voyait sur la muraille mangeant et buvant, et il mangeait et buvait." (MASPERO, *L'Archéologie égyptienne*, p. 118.)

<sup>3</sup> "Die moderne Theorie, dass diese Reliefs in den Gräbern angebracht worden seien, damit die darin dargestellten Diener, Tiere u.s.w. an der Weiterexistenz des Toten teilhätten und ihm auch im Jenseits dienten, ist durch nichts bewiesen und ist auch an und für sich wenig wahrscheinlich. Würde man doch sonst auch diese Bilder systematischer ausgewählt und nicht so willkürlich angelegt haben." (ERMAN, *Ägyptische Religion*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 137-8, footnote.)

denied it. The fact is that evidence on the point is very difficult to obtain, and the discussion has therefore to some extent proceeded along *a priori* lines. It is necessary to admit without hesitation that the idea of a mystical potency inherent in the images of things is a characteristically Egyptian conception; this is obvious in the case of the *shawabti*-figures, the model boats deposited in tombs, the sham loaves and offerings, and in numerous other cases. Were the Egyptian testimony scantier than it is, we might argue with some assurance from the analogy of other peoples in a similar stage of culture. *A priori*, therefore, there is a good case to be made out in favour of the French standpoint. Now, if we look at origins alone there is, I think, something to be said for both views. The "false door" had evidently a practical purpose; it was not a real door, but an imitation door through which the dead man or his phantom or soul was supposed to enter the shrine or innermost chamber in order to partake of the offerings provided for him. It is difficult to conceive what purpose the religious texts deep-buried on the walls of the sepulchral chamber could serve if it were not the purpose of being magically efficacious to the corpse of the dead man. On the other hand, the paintings and sculptures of the rooms open to the public may have been originally intended merely for the edification and to command the admiration of the beholder. A biographical inscription can have had no magical significance; the hunting and fishing scenes also may possibly in the beginning have had none.

So much for origins; I think, however, it can be proved that there was always a tendency to regard scenes and inscriptions as potentially imbued with mysterious efficacy. In dealing with Pls. XV and XVI, I shall endeavour to extract from the inscriptions an explicit avowal of this view; the words "eternally" and "a thousand years" there applied to certain entertainments enjoyed by the deceased seem to me to have no satisfactory explanation except it be assumed that the picture was intended to evoke and perpetuate the realities depicted.<sup>1</sup>

Equally important deductions may be drawn from the mutilations of inscriptions and scenes. In the burial-chambers of the royal pyramids of the Old Kingdom all hieroglyphic signs representing creatures that might be supposed to exercise any malign influence or to be dangerous to the dead were either suppressed or mutilated in some manner; all figures of men, animals, and birds, are docked of their legs, if not yet further eurtailed or altogether replaced. The same treatment is accorded to the hieroglyphs in certain tombs of the Middle and New Kingdoms, where it is confined to the actual burial-chamber. This is interesting, as it clearly points to the fact that it was the mummified corpse that above all had to be protected.<sup>2</sup> In the Burial-chamber of the tomb of Amenemhēt there is evidence of a different kind that the inscriptions were potent for good or for evil; the names of all divinities except Apophis and other such ill-omened gods are written in black instead of red, the latter colour being possibly associated with blood and death and therefore being deemed able to injure these deities.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 66-7.

<sup>2</sup> See on this topic the highly important and interesting article by M. LACAU in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 51 (1914), pp. 1-64.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 104. The explanation here suggested is entirely hypothetical; in other countries red as the colour of blood is associated with life rather than with death. It may be recalled that Seth-Typhon is supposed to be red of colour, and red-haired men were sacrificed in Egypt as being typhonic, sinister, and unlucky.



The Akhenaton erasures, too, are of much interest. Mr. Weigall has pointed out to me that the priestly figure in the leopard skin (sometimes the son of the dead man as offerer and sometimes the *sem*-priest) is consistently cut away in certain tombs, including the tomb of Amenemhēt; and he has also pointed out that this happens only in tombs of pre-Akhenaton date, and in company with the erasure of the name of Amūn. It is an insufficient explanation which attributes this destruction to a fanatical desire to obliterate the memory of the hated priest and god. Given the superstitious nature of the Egyptians, surely it is not unreasonable to conclude that the servants of the Heretic King thought they were thereby destroying a divine might and divine rites which were hostile to their creed. But that is equivalent to saying that mystic efficacy was attributed to the pictures thus made powerless.

We shall take our stand therefore midway between the two conflicting theories. On the one hand we shall not postulate magical potency for every picture that is depicted on a tomb-wall; on the other hand we shall not reject this supposition as fantastic, but seek to form a probable judgment in keeping with the evidence bearing upon each particular case.

§ 4. THE PAINTINGS OF THE TOMB OF AMENEMHĒT AS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF OTHER TOMBS.—As samples of Egyptian Art the paintings of our tombs rank high, particularly those in the Hall, which are vastly superior both in design and in execution to those in the Passage and Shrine.<sup>1</sup> It would be difficult to find in the Necropolis any fragment of painting more pleasing than the birds and butterflies reproduced in the Frontispiece. In two further coloured plates will be found faithful copies of other scenes of outstanding merit: the prize bull and its herdsman (Pl. VIa), and the grotesque but lively picture of the hippopotamus at bay (Pl. Ia). These will suffice to give an idea of the style employed and the level attained. It is true enough that the tomb of Amenemhēt cannot boast the elaborate attention to detail seen in the tomb of Kenamūn (93), nor the joyous grace of the tombs of Nakht (52) and Menna (69); none the less its standard is high.

In the northern half of the Hall, whence are drawn both the Frontispiece and Pl. Ia, a soft grey-blue background is employed, which blends and relieves of their staring effect the bright colours of the painting. Similar bluish backgrounds are to be found in tombs 73 (owner's name lost), 81 (Anena), and 179 (Nebamūn), all dating from the first half of the reign of Tuthmosis III or from the reign of Hatshepsowet. Pictures that deserve special mention, besides those above named, are the fragmentary hunting scene in Pl. IX, most attractive both in design and colour; the singing woman in Pl. XV, whose open mouth exhibits the originality of the artist in a somewhat regrettable light; the leaping man in Pl. XX, a figure unparalleled in the Necropolis; and lastly, the unusual paintings on the east wall of the Shrine (Pls. XXIV, XXVI).

As regards the colour scheme, the tomb conforms to the wise counsels that prevailed in the reigns of Hatshepsowet and Tuthmosis III. The tints employed are skilfully varied, so that no one colour predominates unduly over the rest. The over-insistent redness of some tombs, especially that of the Userhēt who lived under Amenophis II (no. 56), is happily avoided, though the number of male figures in some scenes (*e.g.* the funeral scenes) might easily have occasioned this defect. The tomb of Amenemhēt has none of that dinginess

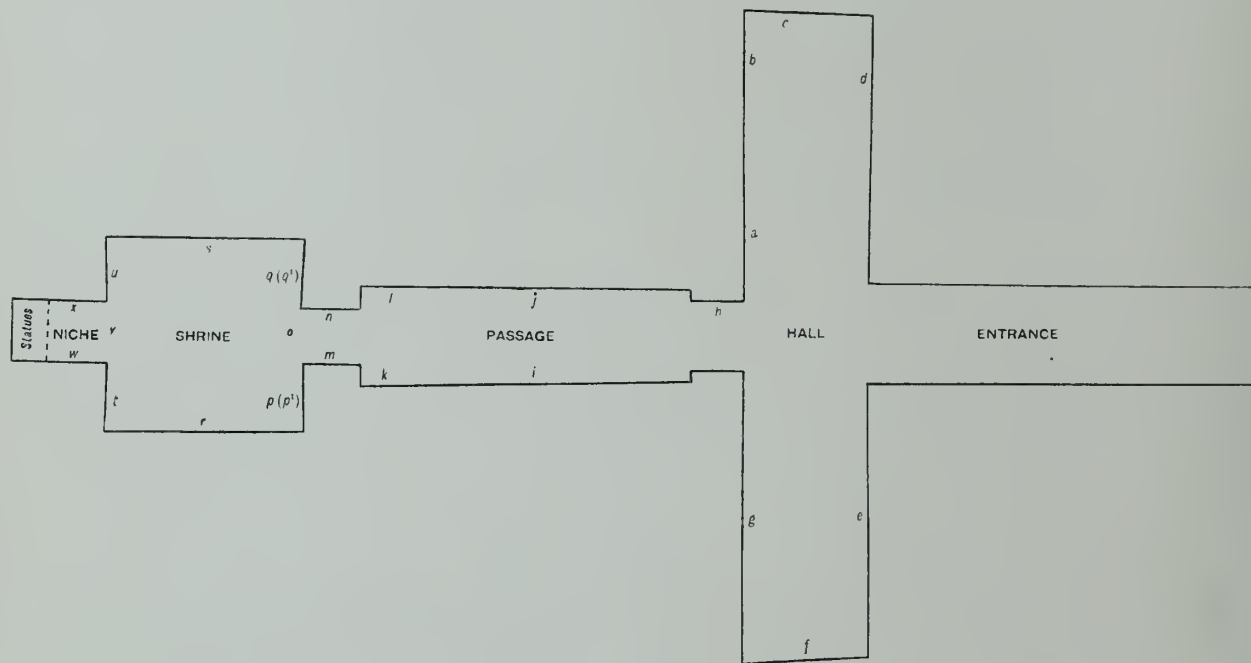
<sup>1</sup> The best of the coloured hieroglyphs, however, are those over the figures of Amenemhēt and his wife at the extreme west end of the Passage.



caused by the use of heavier backgrounds, such as we feel in the tomb of Kenamūn despite all the beauty of the workmanship, not to speak of the golden-yellow and terra-cotta horrors almost characteristic of the Ramesside period.

### § 5. SYNOPSIS OF THE PAINTINGS IN THE TOMB.

In the following enumeration of the scenes depicted in the tomb of Amenemhēt the small letters refer to the positions on the walls as marked in the sketch-plan below. The following abbreviations are used to characterize the pictures in one way or other: the letter U indicates that the subject is in a usual or at least not specially abnormal place; the letter I is placed beside representations in some way connected with Amenemhēt's individual career or functions, and therefore not belonging to the common stock of scenes found in the tombs of Theban nobles of the Eighteenth Dynasty; an asterisk denotes that the picture is of rare occurrence or possesses unusual features. For further details see Chapter III.



ENTRANCE.—Paintings totally destroyed.

#### HALL.

- a. Upper portion, [A → fowling and ← spearing fish]; almost entirely destroyed; U. See the key-plan of the entire wall, Pl. I; the birds, Frontispiece.  
Lower portion, destroyed.
- b. Upper portion, A → hunting the hippopotamus; U. See Pls. I, IA.  
Lower portion, aquatic and agricultural scenes, fragmentary; U\*. See the key-plan, Pl. I; the details, Pl. II.
- c. Upper portion, A → hunting the wild animals of the desert, very fragmentary. See Pl. IX.  
Lower portion, totally destroyed.
- d. Upper portion, [A (or his father) ← making offerings to the Vizier Ahmōse and his wife →; their family was depicted]. Inscription alone preserved, see Pl. XXXI; UI; symmetrical with c.  
Lower portion, destroyed.
- e. Upper portion, A → making offerings to the Vizier User and his wife ←; their family is depicted; UI; symmetrical with d. See Pl. III.  
Lower portion, destroyed.
- f. Upper portion, A → makes offerings to his parents and grandparents.\* See Pl. VII.  
Lower portion, A → makes offerings to the designers and decorators of his tomb.\* See Pl. VIII.

- g.* Upper portion, A and his wife → banqueting with their relatives ←; musicians and bringers of offerings. See Pls. IV, V, and VI top.

Lower portion, [scenes connected with A's functions], mostly destroyed; I. A prize bull belonging to the Vizier User, see Pl. VI bottom, and Pl. VIA.

#### THICKNESS OF DOORWAY FROM HALL TO PASSAGE.

- h.* [A → goes forth from the tomb to revisit his earthly home]; U. Inscription alone partly preserved, see Pl. XXXI.

Southern thickness, entirely destroyed.

#### PASSAGE.

- i.* Funeral ceremonies and the journey to Abydos; U; complementary to *j.* See Pls. X, XI, XII, and XIII.

- j.* Lower portion, "Opening of the Mouth" and related ceremonies before the mummy; U; complementary to *i.* See Pl. XVII.

Upper portion, continuation of the banquet of which *l* represents the principal scene; musicians,\* guests, and attendants; [U]. See Pls. XV, XVI.

- k.* Upper portion, A and wife ← receive offerings from son Amenhotpe →; U; symmetrical with *l.* See Pl. X (son only); inscription over A, Pl. XXXI.

Lower portion, destroyed.

- l.* Upper portion, A and wife → receive offerings from son Amenemhēt ←; U; symmetrical with *k.* See Pl. XIV.

Lower portion, destroyed.

#### THICKNESS OF DOORWAY FROM PASSAGE TO SHRINE.

- m.* A → worships Anubis ←; U; symmetrical with *n.* See Pl. XXVIII.

- n.* [A ← worships Annbis? →]; U; symmetrical with *m.* Inscription only, see Pl. XXIX.

#### SHRINE.

- o.* Entire top portion of wall: at sides symmetrical pictures of A and wife feasting, left →, right ←\*; middle left, guests; middle right, mourners and man offering libations and incense to mummy.\* See Pl. XXIV.

- p.* Underlay, game of draughts,\* men preparing beverages.\* See Pl. XXVI top.

- q.* Underlay, display of funereal (?) equipment, &c.\* See Pl. XXVI bottom.

- p*<sup>1</sup>. Later substitution, autobiographical stele; symmetrical with *q*<sup>1</sup>; U. See Pl. XXV.

- q*<sup>1</sup>. Later substitution, remains of second autobiographical stele; symmetrical with *p*<sup>1</sup>. See Pl. XXIX.

- r.* Upper portion, A and wife ← (much damaged, superscription almost as at *s*) receive offerings from son Useramūn →; long list of offerings, with illustrative vignettes; below, members of family →. Symmetrical with *s*, upper portion; U. See Pl. XVIII.

Penultimate register, scenes illustrative of annual feast of Hathor; priestesses and dancers\*; parallel to *s*, penultimate register. See Pls. XIX, XX.

Lowest register, attendants bring offerings →; symmetrical with *s*, lowest register. See Pls. XIX, XX.

- s.* Upper portion, A and wife → receive offerings from son Amenemwaskhet ←; long list of offerings, with illustrative vignettes; below, members of family ←. Symmetrical with *r*, upper portion; U. See Pls. XXI, XXII(A).

Penultimate register, vignettes illustrating special rites of epagomenal days and other feast-days; parallel to *r*, penultimate register. See Pls. XXII(B) and XXIII.

Lowest register, attendants bring offerings ←; symmetrical with *r*, lowest register. See Pls. XXII(B) and XXIII.

- t.* Upper portion, A ← offers wine to the Goddess of the West\* →; symmetrical with *u.* See Pl. XXVII.

Lower portion, destroyed.

- u.* Upper portion, A → offers wine to the Goddess of the East\* ←; symmetrical with *t.* See Pl. XXVII.

Lower portion, destroyed.

- v.* Ornamental entablature above Niche. See Pl. XXVIII.

## NICHE.

- w.* [A and wife  $\leftarrow$  receive offerings from son . . . . .  $\rightarrow$ ]; entirely lost; symmetrical with *x*.  
*x.* [A and wife  $\rightarrow$  receive offerings from son Amen . . . . .  $\leftarrow$ ]; part of inscription only, see Pl. XXIX.

For the various door-framings, see Pl. XXXI and Chapter III; the ceiling patterns, see Pl. XXXII; the ceiling inscriptions, Hall and Passage, see Pl. XXX; Shrine, see Pl. XXVII; Niche, see Pl. XXIX; texts and inscriptions of Burial-chamber, see Pls. XXXV-XLVI.

## 4.—LATER HISTORY AND DESTRUCTION OF THE TOMB.

Not many generations passed before the hand of the destroyer began to leave its mark upon the tomb. The iconoclasm of the Akhenaton period is there attested by the consistent erasure of the name of Amūn and the word for "gods" (*ntrw*) in the upper chambers;<sup>1</sup> at the same time the figure of the offerer, clad in the leopard-skin and with his arm upraised in the usual ceremonial manner, was completely deleted wherever it occurs (see Pls. V, X, XIV, XVII, XVIII, XXI).<sup>2</sup> These mutilations have the appearance of having been made with chisel and hammer, and are easily distinguishable from the later styles of erasure. Coptic fanaticism is also responsible for much wilful damage. In the Hall and Passage nearly all female heads have been scored across with scratchings inflicted with some sharp-pointed instrument; male heads being spared, there can be little doubt but that we have here the work of Coptic monks who took up their abode in the tomb in later days, and who feared lest their minds might be beguiled into evil thoughts by the sight of so much feminine beauty.<sup>3</sup> On the south wall of the Passage are the Coptic graffito *исрانا*, a large  $\Phi$ , and several small crosses and scribbles. The shallow hole in the Entrance and the rough caves excavated in the Hall are possibly due to the Copts; there are no traces of their destructive activity in the Hall, which was by this time doubtless sanded up.

How long Amenemhēt and such other members of his family as were buried with him may have enjoyed an undisturbed tenancy of their place of burial is unknown. Before the underground chambers were completely cleared of their contents by Mr. N. de G. Davies and Mr. Mackay they had evidently been ransacked on different occasions. Nevertheless, there still remained traces of various burials of later date. There were parts of bodies and of broken coffins and furniture heaped together in wild confusion; a fragment of a blue-glaze plaque with a gilded *dad*-symbol on it (Cairo Museum); several cones of Amenemhēt and others; fragments of canopic jars, one painted with a human-headed top; a mummified dog; about 150 crude *shawabtis* in grey clay, uninscribed, both ordinary ones with the two hoes and *rêises* with a whip; and one of those inscribed clay "briques magiques" not seldom found in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs.<sup>4</sup>

The latest era in the history of the destruction of the tomb dates from the early days of Egyptology. Though seemingly unobserved by Champollion and Rosellini, the tomb was known to and much admired by their immediate successors. In Robert Hay's list of the

<sup>1</sup> The name of Amūn has been overlooked once or twice in the inscriptions of the Shrine. For other deletions see p. 35, footnote 6, p. 53, footnote 1, &c.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> The tomb of Userhēt (no. 56) is very instructive in this connection.

<sup>4</sup> Another similar one from our tomb I saw in the hands of Sheikh Hasan Abd er-Rasul.



Theban tombs that of Amenemhēt bears the number 16, and a detailed verbal description of it appears in his manuscript note-book (*Brit. Mus.*, Add. MSS. 29824, pp. 60-65). Burton and Wilkinson copied some of the scenes, which in their time were in very much the same state of preservation as at present. No doubt many valuable fragments of painting were thrown away in the course of the first excavation, which was probably left wholly in the hands of native workmen. Nine-tenths of the losses that we have to deplore in the Theban Necropolis are due to this cause; and recent experience has proved to us that even yet important paintings may be recovered by a careful sifting of the rubbish-heaps of earlier excavators. Where, we may ask, are the remains of the beautiful paintings that once adorned the northern half of the Hall? It is not to be supposed for one moment that native robbers are responsible for the removal of more than a small portion of them. Plate VI<sub>A</sub> shows three straight scars which are due to an attempt to cut out a fragment of painting, and there are a few similar examples in different parts of the tomb; but Hay's description shows that in his time no scenes were visible other than those we still possess. Nor can natural decay be made to account for much loss. The fissure in the northern half of the Hall may indeed have widened in course of time and so have thrown to the ground the scenes that are now missing. A small portion of these may have been ground to powder in the process; but had the rest been carefully gathered up from the place where it fell, no doubt the main features might have been recovered and reconstituted. Egyptologists have a lesson to learn from such considerations as these which they are all too slow in assimilating.

Lepsius knew the tomb well, and it is described in the text of his *Denkmäler* (vol. III, pp. 266-269) under the number 56. Since his time the tomb seems to have been at most times more or less accessible, and various Egyptologists (Dümichen, Sethe, and others) have published scenes or inscriptions thence.<sup>1</sup> An iron door was finally affixed in 1907 at the expense of Said Ali, and Mr. Weigall gave to the tomb its present number 82.<sup>2</sup> The final clearing and restoration of the tomb has been achieved by Mr. N. de G. Davies and Mr. Ernest Mackay with a view to the present publication.

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<sup>1</sup> For the bibliographical references given in the next chapter I am indebted mainly to Miss Bertha Porter's admirable collections.


<sup>2</sup> See WEIGALL, *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, pp. 131-133, with sketch-plan and description of paintings; also GARDINER-WEIGALL, *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, under no. 82.

## CHAPTER III.

## DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

## 1.—THE ENTRANCE.








THE doorways in the façade and Entrance-passage are too much destroyed to require many comments. The outer door, as described above, gave upon its lintel the name and titles of Amenemhēt. The second doorway, on its eastern face, was adorned with symmetrical inscriptions, of which the fragments are reproduced in Pl. XXXI. The lintel bears, in three lines, the remains of the titulary of Tuthmosis III. This mode of ornamentation is commoner in the temples than in the tombs; but in neither case are there serious grounds for thinking that it served any other purpose than that of indicating a date.<sup>1</sup> The door-posts have formulae of the usual type addressed to Amūn and Osiris.

The thickness of this artificial doorway probably showed scenes of offerings, for the cheek-slab belonging to one side still bears part of a greenish-blue figure, and the rebate of the lintel (N. side) has the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription beginning with the sign  "making offering."

Between the two doorways there may once have been painted frescoes of Amenemhēt adoring on the one hand the rising and on the other hand the setting sun. No trace of any such frescoes is left, but they would be quite in keeping with the practice of Tuthmoside times.

## 2.—THE HALL.

## DOOR FROM ENTRANCE INTO HALL.

This door is framed on the inside by an imitation of the ordinary type of lintel and door-posts, consisting of symmetrically arranged lines of well coloured hieroglyphs between blue lines. Nothing remains of the door-posts, but of the lintel there is just enough to show that there were three or four horizontal lines of formula starting  from the centre and ending with the name of the deceased,       "... Amenemhēt, justified."

REAR (WEST) WALL, NORTHERN HALF, UPPER PORTION: FOWLING, SPEARING FISH, AND  
HUNTING THE HIPPOPOTAMUS.

(See Pl. I, with the Frontispiece and Pl. IA.)

This wall and the adjoining north wall were devoted to the outdoor recreations in which every man of wealth was supposed to indulge, together with the various agricultural and similar

<sup>1</sup> The doorway from the Hall to Passage in tomb 110 is likewise adorned with a royal titulary incised in a stone lintel, and it might hence be supposed that the block in question was a gift from the King. But in tomb 42 a similar titulary is painted on the native rock over the doorway leading from Passage to Shrine.



occupations in which the *fellâhîn* and overseers belonging to his country estate might be assumed to be engaged. Scenes of this kind are to be found in almost all the larger tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and clearly belong to the conventional and general part of their ornamentation. The sporting scenes can be traced back to models of the Old Kingdom, as will be seen below. Are we to conclude that these pictures are of no value as evidence for the tastes and habits of Tuthmoside times? Perhaps this would be too sceptical a view to take, especially as in the hunting scenes of some tombs the use of chariot and horses<sup>1</sup> introduces a modern note that is hardly likely to have been purely imaginative. Still, it is to be borne in mind that the pursuits here illustrated are more appropriate to the great landowners of the Old and Middle Kingdoms than to the bureaucratic dignitaries of a great city like Thebes. There is room for legitimate doubt as to whether Amenemhēt ever speared fish or hunted the hippopotamus, despite the admirable frescoes of these subjects which he caused to be executed on the walls of his tomb.

With regard to the possibility here of an evocative magical purpose it is impossible to make any positive assertions, but it may be noted that among the religious texts found on Middle Kingdom coffins, and recently published by M. Lacau, is one that has clear reference to the sport of fowling as depicted in the tombs.<sup>2</sup> Horus there addresses his father Osiris, declaring that he brings to him the power to think and move, and so forth; thence he passes on to describe other activities, and finally alludes to the pastimes of field and marshland:—

“There come to thee the water-fowl in thousands(?), alighting in thy path. Thou hurlest thy boomerang against them, and a thousand fall at the sound of its breath, geese and green-breasted fowl, ducks and ganders.”

Obviously the thought of a funereal application for the corresponding paintings was never remote from the Egyptians' minds.

To turn to details, it will be seen from the key-plan (Pl. I) that of the parts near the door hardly anything is left. Amenemhēt was here twice depicted in his canoe, once spearing fish and once fowling.<sup>3</sup> The direction of a single isolated hieroglyph shows that the two figures faced one another. All that is now left of these pictures, which are found in combination on the corresponding wall of several other tombs,<sup>4</sup> is a brilliant collection of birds and insects hovering above high papyrus-plants; this is reproduced in colour in the Frontispiece. On the right is an unmistakable lapwing (*vanellus cristatus*), with the head of another just below it. The white-and-blue birds are some species of heron. The two smaller birds at the top of the picture are less easily determined; the yellow one is perhaps rather a goldfinch than a serin-finch, while its neighbour might be a starling.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the tombs of Userhēt (56), Amunezēh (84), and Amenemhēt (123).

<sup>2</sup> LACAU, *Textes religieux*, p. 64; see GRAPOW, *Die Vogeljagd mit dem Wurfbolz*, in *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 47 (1910), pp. 132–134.

<sup>3</sup> For similar pictures in tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, see the good list of references, VON BISSING, *Gemäke*, I, 29. The original may well have been sculptured in one of the pyramid-temples of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty; compare the fragments in BORCHARDT, *Das Grabtempel des Sahure*, Pl. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 52 (Nakht), 53 (Amenemhēt), 81 (Anena), 100 (Rekmerē), 123 (Amenemhēt), 127 (Senemiah), 155 (Antef), 164 (Antef), 172 (Mentiywey). In other tombs (nos. 66, 69, 77, 78, 96A) these scenes have been crowded out from want of space and removed to the adjoining (north) wall of the passage or inner chamber. There are too, of course, some abnormally situated examples.

<sup>5</sup> For this information I am indebted to Mr. Chubb, of the Natural History Museum, Kensington.

The right-hand corner of the wall was occupied by a picture of Amenemhēt hunting the hippopotamus, a subject less common than those of fowling and spearing fish, and apparently never found apart from them.<sup>1</sup> Not a single well-preserved painted example now remains in the Theban Necropolis, though a very mediocre representation in relief survives in tomb 53 (Amenemhēt). Wilkinson<sup>2</sup> figures a fine representation of the subject, intact in his day but now entirely destroyed, from the tomb of the royal herald Antef in Dra Abu 'l Naga (no. 155); this affords the type from which we must reconstruct in our fancy the much damaged painting in the tomb of Amenemhēt (Pl. IA). No doubt this mode of depicting the hippopotamus hunt, which seems to have become stereotyped at Thebes, goes back to an ancient model like the rest of the series to which it belongs; but no similar scene appears among the materials hitherto published from tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The owner of the tomb is here, as in the fowling and fish-spearing scenes, the central figure, if not indeed the only actor; whereas in the animated picture of a hippopotamus hunt in the tomb of Ti<sup>3</sup> the great man himself is a mere spectator.

Diodorus gives a substantially accurate, though not quite clear, account of the method of capturing the hippopotamus<sup>4</sup>: "This animal is taken by a number of men who smite it with iron javelins. Wherever it may happen to show itself, they gather their boats near it and wound it from round about with instruments having iron barbs. Then, attaching hempen cords to one of the blades that has fastened in, they let loose, and continue to do so until the animal is powerless through loss of blood." In the Theban pictures the hunter is shown with right arm upraised in the act of hurling the javelin, which consists of a long wooden shaft with a blade fastened to its lower end. To this blade has been attached a cord which passes along the shaft and over a hook or fork at its upper extremity. The animal having been transfixed, the shaft falls, while the blade continues to be controlled by the cord, which can be drawn in and let out at pleasure.<sup>5</sup> A coil of cords that radiate from various points in the hide of the wounded animal is wound round the left arm of the hunter.

The title of the scene,<sup>6</sup> written in fine detailed coloured hieroglyphs, must be restored on the lines of the superscription in the tomb of Antef (no. 155):—

"Going forth on the part of the scribe, reckoner of the grain, Amenemhēt, to pierce (*stt*) the hippopotamus (*hb*) and to take recreation (*sdj hr-f*) in the arts of the Fen-goddess, and to make offering (*wdn*)<sup>7</sup> to the [Lady of the Chase] (*nb-t hb*)."

A longer inscription of mythological content, in smaller blue vertical columns, is also found above the scene. Fragmentary duplicates of the same text occur in two other tombs, that of

<sup>1</sup> Tombs of Amenemhēt (53), Amenemhab (85), Downehh (125), Antef (155), and Antef (164). In three of these five cases (53, 155, 164) the picture occupies exactly the same position as in our tomb.

<sup>2</sup> *Manners and Customs*, III, Pl. xv, opposite p. 71 = (edit. BIRCH) II, p. 128, no. 376. See too PRISSE D'AVENNES, *L'Art égyptien*, II, 6 top (drawing by Mons. Dupuy).

<sup>3</sup> STEINDORFF, *Grab des Ti*, Pl. 114. For another O. K. representation of hunting the hippopotamus, see WIEDEMANN-PÖRTNER, *Ägyptische Grabreliefs aus der Grossherzoglichen Altertümer-Sammlung zu Karlsruhe*, Pl. 4.

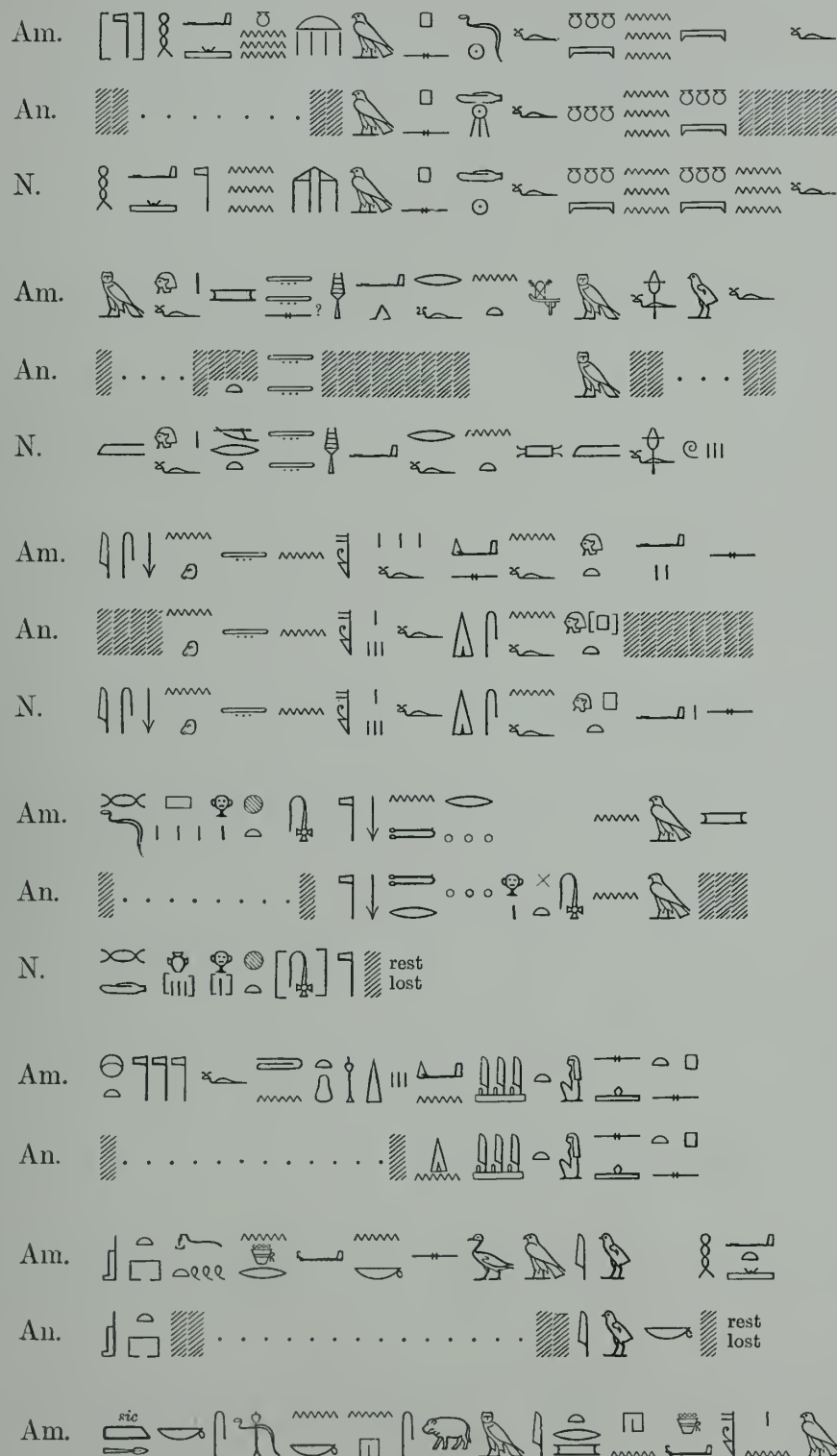
<sup>4</sup> *Diod. Sic.*, I, 35.

<sup>5</sup> In Wilkinson's picture from 155 (but not in the copy published by Prisse) the cord from the javelin that is being thrown is shown gathered up in the coil held in the left hand. In tomb 82 this cord appears to be looped round the upper forked end of the shaft.

<sup>6</sup> Published SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1062 (F).

<sup>7</sup> *W[dn]* phonetically written, and not *w[h<sup>c</sup>]* which Sethe suggested.

an Antef who was scribe of recruits (no. 164) under Tuthmosis III, and that of the well-known high-priest of Amūn Nebunenef who lived under Rameses II (no. 157). I print the three texts one above the other:—





corrupt, and is at all events very obscure; the following rendering is more or less guess-work :—

“The god rejoices within<sup>1</sup> the covert(?), Horus shines forth <in(?)> the Nun, his Nun before him(?), the love of the Two Lands. Lo! uprises Neith before him, and does reverence to his harpoons; she gives to him that which is upon her hand, fat upon the fire, incense upon the flame, even to Horus beloved of his Ennead. She makes offering of white bread, and the Fen-goddess suffers her to propitiate the place of the chosen morsels(?). ‘Seize thou it, my son Horus, rejoicing,<sup>2</sup> and thy voice justified. I reveal to thee the hippopotamus in the river. Ha! let capture the harpoon of Horus(?)’”

However uncertain the details of the above translation may be, its gist is plain. The youthful god Horus is hunting in the marshes, when suddenly the goddess Neith rises up before him and does him homage, promising to prosper his sport. Have we here a snatch from a traditional hunting song recalling an old mythical precedent? It is characteristic of the Egyptians that they should associate memories of the kind with an everyday pastime or pursuit. In similar manner the game of draughts is interpreted mythologically in a well-known Cairo papyrus,<sup>3</sup> and the movements and songs of female dancers show that they impersonated the goddess Hathor.<sup>4</sup> Probably no more should be concluded from these facts than that the gods of the Egyptians were very vividly envisaged in their imaginations, so that even the most ordinary amusements could playfully be made reminiscent of mythical tales. Plutarch tells us that the hippopotamus was a Typhonian animal,<sup>5</sup> so that the hunting of the hippopotamus would naturally evoke the memory of the struggle between Horus and Seth.

#### REAR (WEST) WALL, NORTHERN HALF, LOWER PORTION: VARIOUS RURAL PURSUITS. (Pl. II.)

While Amenemhēt indulges in the more aristocratic pursuits above described, the servants of his estate are busy with various rural occupations. Such fragments of painting as have here escaped destruction conform in their general lines to the pictures that usually occur in this position and connection.<sup>6</sup> Men were seen netting fish and splitting them before laying them out to dry; the *fellâh* engaged in the latter task sits on a kind of light bamboo stool, of which I shall later have occasion to speak further.<sup>7</sup> In the lower register is an aquatic scene of unusual character, where repairs are being made to the light papyrus skiffs used for punting in the marshes.<sup>8</sup> Farther on a gardener bends down to fill two watering-pots, carried by means of a yoke over his shoulders.<sup>9</sup> To the left of this was the usual series of pictures representing the making of wine; these pictures ordinarily consist of scenes of gathering the grapes, treading the wine-press, and sometimes also filling the wine-jars.<sup>10</sup> Only a fragment of the first of the three remains in the present instance.

<sup>1</sup> For this preposition see the evidence collected by PIEHL, *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 25 (1887), pp. 33–35; the reading *n hnw* seems to be proved by the variant LACAU, *Textes religieux*, XXI, l. 4, in a sentence very similar to the present one.

<sup>2</sup> The reading *iwk* of the tomb of Antef is obviously correct.

<sup>3</sup> See *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. 16 (1894), p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> See GARDINER, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, pp. 100–103.

<sup>5</sup> See PLUTARCH, *de Iside*, cap. 50.

<sup>6</sup> See tombs 53, 100, 123, &c.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 64.

<sup>8</sup> I do not remember to have seen at Thebes any exact parallel to this picture.

<sup>9</sup> A close parallel in the garden scene of the tomb of Anena (no. 81).

<sup>10</sup> *E.g.* in the tombs nos. 18, 52, 53, 90, 127.



## NORTH WALL: HUNTING SCENE. (Pl. IX.)

In the upper registers a picture of Amenemhēt hunting in the desert closed the series of scenes illustrating his taste for sport. Little remains, but it is clear that Amenemhēt was on foot, and accompanied by "his wife, his beloved of his desire, the lady of the house Baktamūn." The superscription<sup>1</sup> runs:—

"Traversing the valleys, exploring the mountains, taking recreation, shooting the wild animals of the desert by him, the beloved of his lord, the steward of the Vizier, the scribe, reckoner of the grain of [Amūn, Amenem]hēt, the justified."

The desert is represented by hillocks of light-red colour, the pebbles of which are indicated by splashes of deeper red, blue, and white. Various desert plants were depicted. The animals are seen dashing about wildly between the light palisades of network enclosing the area to be drawn by the beaters. The beaters are not shown here, but they are shown in the magnificent sculptured representation of a similar scene in the pyramid-temple of King Sahurē (Fifth Dynasty), perhaps the actual model from which ultimately all the similar pictures in Egyptian tombs are descended.<sup>2</sup> A regular shower of arrows pours from the bow of Amenemhēt, piercing several animals without seeming greatly to disturb their composure. In the top row are two bubales, coloured pink with white breasts; behind them a gazelle of deep red, with white hinder parts. The horns of the destroyed animal at the extreme right might be those of an ibex. In the lower row are still visible the ears of a hare that has been mortally wounded.

If analogies may be trusted, the lower registers will have shown attendants bearing home the spoils of the chase. The hunting scene is not in its usual place in the tomb of Amenemhēt, being more often placed at the entrance of the right-hand or northern wall of the passage or second chamber,<sup>3</sup> where it is close to the fowling and fishing scenes, the normal position of which is on the nearest abutting wall of the first chamber.<sup>4</sup> As a general rule both the short end-walls of the Hall are occupied by stelae or false doors.

## ENTRANCE (EAST) WALL, SOUTHERN HALF: THE VIZIER USER BANQUETING WITH HIS FAMILY. (Pl. III.)

Amenemhēt was the steward of the Vizier User, the most powerful man of his day after the Pharaoh. It is little to be wondered at that the walls usually reserved to the private concerns and individual functions of the owner of the tomb<sup>5</sup> should in this case be used for the glorification of Amenemhēt's patron and master. The upper portion alone is preserved, where User and his wife are seen banqueting with their children. The Vizier wears the ample garment indicative of his office, a full skirt held up by braces that pass over the shoulders<sup>6</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Already published SERNE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1062 (x).

<sup>2</sup> See BORCHARDT, *op. cit.*, Pl. 17.

<sup>3</sup> So in tombs 11, 21, 84, 93, 123, 172. In 53 the hunting scene is on the northern entrance wall, *opposite* the fowling scene; in 81 alone it is far away from the other scenes of the series.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 27, n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> The portions of the entrance wall immediately right and left of the entrance are often occupied by scenes of offering to the gods of Thebes; such is, however, not the case in tomb 82. The subjects depicted on the remainder of this wall seem variable; they may illustrate some function of the deceased, or they may contain a banqueting scene.

<sup>6</sup> The Egyptian name of this garment appears to be *šp*; see NEWBERRY, *Life of Rekhmara*, Pl. 2, l. 1. It is regularly worn by the Viziers of the Eighteenth Dynasty, *e.g. op. cit.*, Pl. 12.

in his hand is the usual napkin. His hair, like that of Amenemhēt himself in other parts of the tomb, consists of thick beads of blue colour; a similar treatment is found, for example, in the tombs of Amunezēh (84) and Anēna (81).<sup>1</sup> User is described by a full list of titles, as follows:—


“The hereditary prince and toparch, friend great of love, the mouth that causes satisfaction in the entire land, the overseer of the two treasuries, the governor of the city and Vizier, User, the justified.”<sup>2</sup>


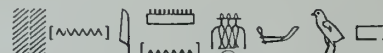
Close behind User, and grasping his arm with the ordinary affectionate gesture, is “his wife, his beloved, the lady of the house, Thuiu, the justified,” who wears the ordinary tight-fitting garment of females, with a blue necklet.



A table of offerings, and probably the large figure of Amenemhēt in the act of making offerings,<sup>3</sup> are lost in the gap. Then the scene subdivides into two or more registers: the topmost shows five sons, five daughters, and a sister of User, holding lotuses in their hands and squatting before their parents. In front of the foremost son was a table loaded with food; a bundle of onions is at the top. A serving-maid approaches with something in her hand; behind her was another serving-maid facing in the opposite direction. A second register showed brothers and sisters of User.

The family of User has been carefully studied by Professor Newberry,<sup>4</sup> but later researches have modified and supplemented his genealogical tree in points of detail. Above all, it has been shown that the Vizier “Aa-ma-thu,” the father of User, is identical with, and not the son of, the Vizier Ahmōse (or Aahmes, as Professor Newberry calls him), “Aa-ma-thu” being merely a semitising or syllabic spelling of the name Ahmōse. The following is the evidence for the family that I find among my own collections or collations.

A. Tomb no. 82 (the steward of User, Amenemhēt). User’s father and mother, the Vizier Ahmōse, and his wife Tahmōse, were represented in the northern portion of the east wall of the Hall (see below, p. 34). The names and titles of User’s sons and daughters shown on Pl. III are as follows:—

(1) Son  Simonkh, title erased [“. . . . . of Amūn”].

(2) Son  Marymā’et,  “[Prophet(?) of] Amūn in Zosru,” i.e. Deir el Bahri.

(3) Son  Amenemhēt,  “wēb-priest of Amūn.”

(4) Son  Maryamūn, no title given.

(5) Son  Userhēt, no title.

(6) Daughter  Ahmōse.

(7) Daughter  Amenemwaskhet.

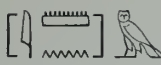



(8) Daughter  Ahmōse.

<sup>1</sup> The hair of the sons of User is also blue, though not beaded in the same way; the daughters have black hair.

<sup>2</sup> These titles are published SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1043.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> NEWBERRY, *The Life of Rekhmara*, p. 16. See, too, WEIL, *Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches*, pp. 71-2.




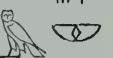



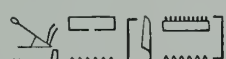


- (9) Daughter  Amenemhab.  
 (10) Daughter  Bāket,  "musician of Amūn."  
 (11) Sister  Nofretari.


In the register below:—







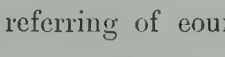
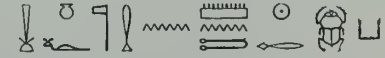
- (12) A brother(?)  Amenemhēt.  
 (13) A brother, name lost,<sup>1</sup>  "Priest of Month."

B. Tomb of the Vizier User (no. 61); own collation. On the north wall of entrance-passage:—

- (1) "His brother"  Hor,  "First lector of Tuthmosis I."

Inner room, north side, east wall; four daughters, viz. (2)  Ahmōse, (3)  Amenemwaskhet, (4)  Ahmōse, and (5)  Amenemhab; also three sons, (6) name lost, (7)  Marymā'et, a  "prophet," and (8) name lost. On the south wall two persons are named, who *may* have been brother and sister (or sister-in-law) of User; they are (9) "his brother"  Neferhotpe,  "overseer of the ergastulum of Amūn," and (10) "his sister"  Ahmōse. User's wife  appears on the north wall.








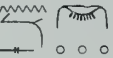
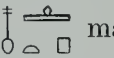
C. Tomb of Amenmōse (no. 228). On the ceiling of this much-destroyed tomb I read the titles of one  "scribe of the treasury of Amūn, Amenmōse, son of the governor of the city and Vizier Ahmōse"; this man was accordingly a brother of User.

D. Tomb no. 122 presents problems that I am at present unable to solve satisfactorily. The tomb is of the normal T-shape, with two small chambers later cut in the left side of the passage, one of which was subsequently bisected by tomb 58. At the end of the right wall of the passage there are two registers, in the lower one of which a  doubtless the owner of the tomb, makes offerings to the Vizier  and his wife . In the upper register the Vizier [User] and his wife receive offerings from  "his brother . . . . .," probably again the owner of the tomb. That the Vizier here depicted is really User is made certain by the persons who follow the offerer  (read  the suffix referring of course to the Vizier)  "his son the second prophet of Amūn Marymā'et" (=above, A 2) and  "his brother the prophet of Month Akheperkerē" (probably = A 13). It might seem obvious, on this evidence, that the owner of the tomb was the "superintendent of the ergastulum of Amūn Neferhotpe," known from tomb 61 (above, B 9); but at Silsileh there is mentioned also a

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless Akheperkerē, mentioned below under D.

<sup>2</sup> So on a fragment of inscription at the end of the left wall of the passage.



son of Ahmōse named  Amenhotpe, also a  , and this man, if his name has not been read by mistake for Neferhotpe, must be considered as another possible claimant. Matters are still further complicated by the inscriptions of the side-chapels. These seem necessarily posterior; the outermost is in honour of a    "overseer of the ergastulum of Amūn Amenemhēt," possibly the son of the Vizier Rekhmerē (see NEWBERRY, *loc. cit.*) and his wife the lady . The only inscriptions in the second chapel are the ceiling-texts, which usually name principals only; they are almost illegible, but the name of the lady  and that of a titleless man  may be deciphered.

No reconstruction of the genealogy of User is here attempted, as it hardly belongs to the scope of this book. Readers who are interested will have no difficulty in making the necessary modifications in the family tree as shown in Professor Newberry's book by the help of the materials above given.

ENTRANCE (EAST) WALL, NORTHERN HALF: THE VIZIER AHMŌSE FEASTING WITH HIS FAMILY.  
(Inscriptions, Pl. XXXI.)

Nothing now remains of the paintings upon this wall but a few scraps of inscription near the top. These show that a scene was here depicted closely similar to that which adorns the southern half of the same wall. To the left were seen the life-size figures of

"The Governor [of the City] and Vizier Ahmōse, justified,"  
and

"His wife, his beloved [of his desire, the lady of the house], Tah[mōse, justified],"

seated before the usual table of offerings, above which was the bill-of-fare or tabulated list of food and beverages known as the shorter list of offerings.<sup>1</sup> To the right of this some titles, reading in the opposite direction to those of the Vizier and his spouse, indicate that the customary figure of a man clad in a leopard-skin and reciting the formula of the funerary gift of offerings once stood here; these titles<sup>2</sup> read:—

"The steward of the Vizier of the [Southern] City, [the scribe] who reckons the grain in the [granary] of Amūn, the chief of [the weavers of Amūn], the master of ceremonies . . . ."

In all probability it was Amenemhēt himself who was thus seen making offerings to the father and mother of his lifelong patron the Vizier User;<sup>3</sup> there is a somewhat analogous scene in the tomb no. 122 (described above, p. 33). Behind the figure of Amenemhēt were doubtless represented various members of the family of Ahmōse.

SOUTH WALL, UPPER HALF: AMENEMHĒT MAKES OFFERINGS TO HIS ANCESTORS. (Pl. VII.)

On this wall, which in most tombs of the period is reserved for a stele or false door, two superimposed banqueting scenes are represented. In the upper half, Amenemhēt, described by a full list of titles<sup>4</sup>—

"The scribe who reckons the grain in the granary of [divine offerings of Amūn], the master of ceremonies

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Already published SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1051 (D).

<sup>3</sup> For the Vizier Ahmōse, see above, pp. 2, 32, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Published SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1050 (C).



[of Amūn],<sup>1</sup> the overseer of ploughed fields, steward<sup>2</sup> of the Vizier, chief of the weavers of [the house of(?) Amūn], Amenembēt, the justified,”

stands with hand upraised in the customary fashion as he performs the act of

“Making offerings-which-the-King-gives to his fathers the revered ones who are in the Neeropolis, feasting [them]<sup>3</sup> with the divine offerings that have come forth in the Presence every day.”

Richly loaded tables of offerings stand before the ancestors, who are seated on chairs in two registers, each comprising three married couples; the floor has been spread with papyrus mats. Among the offerings are loaves and joints of various shapes, unplucked geese, lotus-flowers, pink-coloured figs, grapes both in baskets and in the bunch, bundles of lettuce or some such vegetable, onions, and finally masses of some undetermined yellow fruit or berry heaped up on a kind of plate. Below these in each register is a table consisting of an alabaster slab that rests upon a blue pedestal; on the table are seen those blade-like projections, here coloured red-brown shading off into pink, which have been proved to be the very highly conventionalized representations of half-loaves of bread supposed to be placed upon the table.<sup>4</sup> A red water-jar on a white base is also shown. The names, titles, and attributes of the various personages shown are here translated in order; their relationship to Amenemhēt has been considered in the first chapter.

#### UPPER REGISTER.<sup>5</sup>

(1) “The steward of the Vizier, the energetic one who did his bidding, the scribe Ahmōse-Hamash, justified.”

(2) “His beloved wife, the lady of the house, Ahmōse, justified.”

(3) “His beloved father, the head of the weavers of Amūn, Dhutmōse, called Aa, justified.”

(4) “His wife, the lady of the house, Thuiunofret, justified.”

(5) “His brother, the steward and scribe Dhutmōse, justified.”

(6) “His eldest sister, Dhutmōse, justified.”




#### LOWER REGISTER.


(1) “His beloved father, the revered one, long of life, the master of ceremonies, overseer of ploughed lands, Dhutmōse, justified.”

(2) “His beloved mother,<sup>6</sup> the lady of the house, Antef, justified.”

<sup>1</sup> The erasure, being intentional, must contain the name of Amūn.

<sup>2</sup> Read 

<sup>3</sup> Restore *snmt*  as in Pl. VIII, and at the end of the inscription   <sup>1</sup>. This line of hieroglyphs is published SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1054 (A 1), with slight deviations.

<sup>4</sup> According to the theory of Professor BORCHARDT, which was long accepted, these blade-like projections represented palm-leaves (*Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 31 [1893], p. 1); and from many examples dating from the end of the Old Kingdom and later, in which the projections have exactly the form of the hieroglyph , it is clear that the Egyptians themselves usually took this view; cf. VON BISSING, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-Kai*, vol. II, Pl. 16; PETRIE, *Denderah*, Pl. 1; PETRIE, *Deshasheh*, Pl. 20; NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, vol. 2, Pl. 17. Mr. Griffith has, however, shown from the earliest representations (PETRIE, *Medum*, Pl. 13; QUIBELL, *The Tomb of Hesy*, Pl. 31; see, too, MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas*, vol. 1, Pls. 1, 2) that originally sections of loaves were intended; see GRIFFITH, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> For these inscriptions see, too, SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1054-5 (A 2).

<sup>6</sup> The sign for “mother” has everywhere on this wall been erased by the Akhenaton-worshippers, the same hieroglyph (the vulture) being employed to write the name of the Theban goddess Mut; see above, p. 24.



Of the guests thus honoured the actual figures of two and the inscriptions of three only have been preserved. The two squatting men in the top row are respectively


“His son, the director of the constructions upon this tomb, the scribe Amenemhēt, justified”<sup>1</sup>  
and

“The outline-draughtsman, Ahmōse, justified”;

while the first personage depicted in the second register was

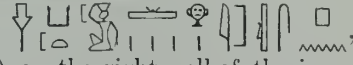

“The sculptor who made the statues”

in the niche at the end of the tomb; his name is lost. It should be noted that the guests wear around their heads the white fillets (*sšd*) alluded to in the dedicatory inscription; in similar manner the male guests at a banquet depicted in the tomb of Menna (no. 69) wear fillets alternately red and white. Note also the pink pats of scented grease that have been placed on the heads of Amenemhēt and Ahmōse, in accordance with an unsavoury custom which is illustrated in nearly all the Theban tombs of this period.

There is good reason for thinking that this scene is not merely commemorative, though for all we know Amenemhēt may once during his lifetime have entertained at a banquet the artists who had contributed to the embellishment of his tomb. Stress must be laid on the fact that the word for “food” used in the explanatory inscription is  *htp-ntr*, the technical name by which the “divine offerings” made in the temples of the gods were described.<sup>2</sup> If Amenemhēt were to have employed for the private use of himself and his friends any portion of the temple-offerings, he would have committed a sin that is specifically condemned in the chapter of the Book of the Dead known as the Negative Confession. If, on the other hand, the banquet here depicted was conceived of as funerary, the use of the term “divine offerings” would be quite intelligible, as it was the ordinary practice to distribute for funerary purposes the temple-offerings that had first of all “gone up upon the altar of the god.”<sup>3</sup> It seems necessary to conclude therefore that Amenemhēt is here imagined to be making offerings in the tombs of the various craftsmen who helped to decorate his own tomb; the subject was thus probably a purely fanciful one, and corresponded to no objective reality.

REAR (WEST) WALL, SOUTHERN HALF, UPPER REGISTERS: AMENEMHĒT BANQUETING  
WITH HIS WIFE AND FAMILY. (Pls. IV, V, VI, VIA.)

The prominence given to scenes of banqueting in the tomb of Amenemhēt suggests that his career was not rich in events of greater moment. Most of the officials in the public administration were able to recollect some occurrence in their lives worthy to be recorded on that wall of their tomb which first met the eye of a visitor. With Amenemhēt it was

<sup>1</sup> Sethe, who gives these inscriptions (*Urkunden*, IV, 1056 [B 2]), rightly restores , but wrongly reads the name as Amenhotpe. In the tomb of Amenemwaskhet (no. 62), on the right wall of the inner chamber, was depicted, among other guests,  “the scribe who made this tomb”; there is, however, nothing to indicate that the entire scene was analogous to that in no. 82.

<sup>2</sup> The same word is used in connection with the offerings to the ancestors shown in the upper register (Pl. VII).

<sup>3</sup> See below, in the Excursus on the meaning of the *htp di nswt* formula, p. 91.



apparently not so, nor is it difficult to conceive that he, enjoying the patronage and trust of User, may have arisen to wealth and station by imperceptible degrees, and that his life was lacking in landmarks which he cared to perpetuate for the benefit of posterity. In the tomb of Amenemhēt, therefore, the most important wall is devoted to one of the common scenes of feasting that are typical of the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty at Thebes and elsewhere.

An effort must be made to distinguish between two kinds of banqueting scenes<sup>1</sup> which the Egyptians themselves failed to keep separate, but which none the less are really distinct. The less ambiguous type is regularly found on the walls of the Shrine (Pls. XVIII, XXI, XXII[A]), and definitely refers to the daily rites of offering there performed by *ka*-servants, priests, and lectors in front of the false door or the niche with statues that was often substituted for the false door in the Theban period. The actual rites, as practised in the older periods,<sup>2</sup> consisted of the pouring of libations, the burning of incense, and the recitation or reading aloud from a papyrus of a long series of spells by which an elaborate meal was supposed to be procured for the deceased. In all probability such material food-offerings as were present and available were placed upon the table of offerings at the appropriate moment in the course of the service, but it cannot be imagined that an elaborate repast was actually laid before the deceased every day. In representing this subject in picture the Egyptians characteristically avoided a mere servile imitation of the rites as they beheld them; on the contrary, they contrived, by drawing on their memories of earthly feasts, also to give expression to the meaning and the purpose of those rites. Thus, instead of showing us the priest in the act of laying a food-offering before the false door, the draughtsman displays before our eyes the lifelike images of the deceased and his wife seated before a sumptuous supply of provisions; their children usually squat before them, and occasionally, too, there are other guests, musicians, and attendants. At the same time there are woven into the composition the figures of the various priestly officiants performing the principal acts of the funerary ritual, and so illustrating the tabular *menu* or list of offerings which, in a longer or shorter version, is written above the offerings themselves. Reference must be made to the commentary on Pls. XVIII, XXI, XXII(A) for further details; here it will suffice to characterize this first type of banqueting scene as *the depiction of the funerary rites of offering together with the banquet that they aimed at securing for the deceased*.<sup>3</sup>

The second type of banqueting scene is, on the other hand, the frank and deliberate reproduction of a terrestrial feast with as many of its concomitant details as the artist's caprice or the available space rendered desirable or possible. The guests are here usually more numerous, and not confined merely to the narrow circle of the tomb-owner's family; the musicians often have written above them the words of the songs that they sing or accompany upon their instruments; dancers are present and attendants from the dead man's terrestrial

<sup>1</sup> In what follows only those kinds of banqueting scenes are considered in which the principal personage is the owner of the tomb. The complimentary banquets or scenes showing Amenemhēt making offerings to the Viziers under whom he served, to his ancestors, or to the artists who worked for him, belong to a different category.

<sup>2</sup> It cannot here be considered how far these rites had become obsolete and were only traditionally depicted in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> On the side-walls of the Niche belonging to the Shrine and of the second Niche belonging to the Burial-chamber are much abbreviated scenes of offering of the same type, the funerary character of which is only deducible from their position.





BIRDS RISING FROM THE REEDS



household, who bind garlands round the necks of the visitors or offer them wine and unguents. The scene is in fact primarily one of those scenes of daily life of which other examples regularly found in the outer chambers of the tomb are the scenes of hunting, agriculture, and so forth. In accordance with its essential aim and object, this second type of banqueting scene finds its appropriate place in the Hall or at least not in the innermost part of the tomb; in the tomb of Amenemhēt scenes of this type are found here, *i.e.* on the southern half of the west wall of the Hall and again on the north wall of the Passage (Pls. XIV, XV, XVI).<sup>1</sup>

What tends to obliterate and disguise the distinction between the two kinds of banqueting scenes above described is the fact that in practice the second variety, exactly like the first, is seldom free from allusions to the funerary cult. The reason for this is not far to seek. The Egyptians fondly hoped that after death they would continue to enjoy precisely the same kind of life as they had previously led upon earth. This being so, it is obvious that the scenes of every-day life depicted on the tomb-walls, even though originally and primarily they may have been purely commemorative in purpose, could not fail to acquire a secondary funerary and prospective significance. In the previous chapter the possibility has been discussed that these pictures may have been supposed to possess an inherent magical force whereby the things depicted were automatically, so to speak, called into realization.<sup>2</sup> Be this as it may, the Egyptian doubtless hoped to hunt in the desert as once he had hunted, to watch his field-workers as in lifetime he had watched them; in fact, the pictures that he caused to be painted in the hall of his tomb illustrated not solely his past enjoyments, but in addition also his future aspirations.

Now, if we bear this in mind when considering the scenes of feasting, it will be seen to have been almost inevitable<sup>3</sup> that some hint of those funerary rites by which food was secured for the dead should intrusively enter into them, *as a result of this secondary prospective significance*. In the Old Kingdom the funerary allusion is as a rule confined to the writing of the word “*ka*-servant” over the heads of the attendants who bring the food for the feast.<sup>4</sup> In the Eighteenth Dynasty arose the new custom of depicting in front of the table of offerings the life-size figure of a man usually clad in a leopard-skin and with his right arm bent and extended in front of him; he is engaged in reciting the traditional funerary formula of offering known as the *hotp di nisut* formula, and generally represents one of the sons of the deceased. Needless to say, this figure is entirely out of place in a picture of an earthly feast; none the less, because of the secondary funerary significance of such pictures, it now almost invariably appears there, just as it appears in the other variety of banqueting scene first described.

To sum up: we have to make a distinction between two kinds of feasts depicted upon tomb-walls, in both of which the deceased is the principal person honoured. The first kind has been shown to be the representation of the daily funerary rites of offering largely coloured by reminiscences of earthly feasts; the second kind consists of the representation of an earthly

<sup>1</sup> On the ambiguous character of part of this scene, see below, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 19–21.

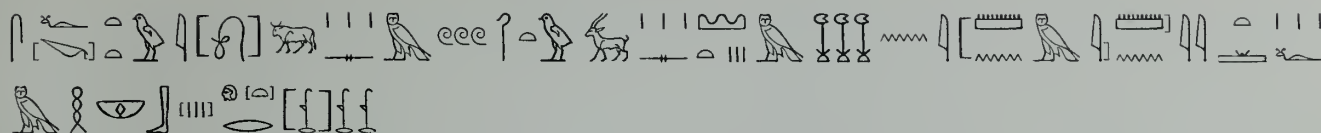
<sup>3</sup> Pictures of feasts in which there is no hint whatsoever of funerary application are LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Part II, Pl. 109 (Qawiet el Meiten), and QUIBELL, *Ramesseum*, Pl. 35 (tomb of Ptahhotpe, Sakkarah).

<sup>4</sup> See STEINDORFF, *Grab des Ti*, Pls. 40–44, together with Pl. 55; DAVIES, *Sheikh Said*, Pl. 4.









"How glad is the temple of Amūn on New Year's Day, at the renewal of . . . . . all in its entirety, when he (*i.e.* Amūn) receives its good things, and its oxen are slaughtered by hundreds, its wild game of the mountains by thousands, even for Amūn as his due offerings at the festivals of the seasons."

No theme was more popular with the Thebans of those days than the glory of their city and its temples with their magnificent and lavish festivals; similar songs have been found in other tombs, and one dealing with the same subject will come to our notice later.<sup>1</sup>

Behind the musicians were guests, all close relatives of Amenemhēt. Much has perished, either through lapse of time or wilful erasure, but the following names and titles still remain (Pls. V, VI[A]):—

TOP ROW.

- (1) "His beloved brother, the scribe of the granary of divine offerings [Amenmōse]."
- (2) "His sister, the lady of the house . . . . ."
- (3) "His beloved brother, the scribe of the Vizier [Amen- . . . . .]."
- (4) "His beloved sister . . . . ."<sup>2</sup>
- (5) "His beloved brother Userhēt."
- (6) "His sister Nofretari."
- (7) "His beloved son Amen[emwaskh]et."
- (8) "His [beloved] sister Tuiu-nofret."
- (9) "[His] brother . . . . ."<sup>3</sup>

LOWER ROW.

- (10) "His beloved son the scribe [Amenhotpe]."
  - (11) "His beloved daughter . . . . ."
- (Rest lost.)


The third row represented attendants bringing different kinds of provisions for the feast. Most of the figures have been destroyed, but we can still see two male figures, the first bringing loaves and a bundle of onions on a mat, and the second, named Siamūn, leading a bull and holding in the right hand a red bowl held in a network of string.<sup>4</sup> The procession was headed by a son of Amenemhēt, palette in hand, very possibly the scribe Amenhotpe. The heading to the scene runs<sup>5</sup>:—

"Recitation: We bring to thee all things good, all things pure, all things sweet, which there are in Upper Egypt and which there are in Lower Egypt, offerings . . . . ."

REAR (WEST) WALL, SOUTHERN HALF, LOWER PORTION: AMENEMHĒT'S ACTIVITIES AS STEWARD OF THE VIZIER. (Pls. VI[B], VIA.)

Of the lower registers enough remains to show that these were devoted to the illustration of Amenemhēt's labours as steward of the Vizier User. One scrap of painting depicts a fight

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Behind the lady's head,  in red outline, erased and very faint.

<sup>3</sup> This is not in the plate, and was the last figure of the line.

<sup>4</sup> For this kind of bowl see PETRIE, *Qurneh*, Pl. 27, no. 22.

<sup>5</sup> See SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1056 (c).

between two bulls,<sup>1</sup> which the Vizier may have been represented as watching. The accompanying inscription reads, "Seeing the [two] bulls fighting."<sup>2</sup> Farther towards the right a bearded old man leads forward a magnificent bull, with a mat over its back; the text to this picture, which is reproduced in colours in Pl. VIA, reads as follows<sup>3</sup>:—

"He says the bull has grown very much; so says the Governor of the City and Vizier User."

The undermost register probably had similar scenes, and a scrap of inscription, ". . . . . which had grown for his lord,"<sup>4</sup> may well refer to other cattle which Amenemhēt bred for the Vizier User on the latter's estate.

#### DOORWAY TO PASSAGE, OUTER SIDE. (Pl. XXXI, bottom right.)

The framing of this doorway projects slightly beyond the level of the surrounding walls, and has been coloured pink mottled with red to imitate Syene granite. Its blue hieroglyphic inscriptions are sunk and moulded in a coating of coarse limestone plaster with which the native rock has been covered; they are arranged in the usual symmetrical fashion, and consist of the customary invocations to different deities:—

##### LINTEL, RIGHT SIDE.

(1) "An offering-which-the-King-gives to Geb, heir of the gods, for the *ka* of the reckoner of eorn, Amenemhēt, justified."

(2) "[An offering-which-the-King-gives to] P[tah . . . . .] for the *ka* of the scribe Amenemhēt, [justified]."

(3) ". . . . . Amenemhēt, [justified]."

##### LINTEL, LEFT SIDE. (Destroyed.)

##### RIGHT DOORPOST.

(1) "An [offering]-which-the-King-gives to Amen-rē and Atum, lord of what exists, remaining in everything, that they may give *pwt-r-hrw*-offerings of [bread and] beer, [oxen and] geese, all things [good and pure] . . . . . to [the *ka*] of . . . . . [Amenemhēt, justified]."

(2) "An offering-which-the-King-gives to Ptah-Sokar and to Anubis upon his mountain, that they may grant to go forth on earth to see the sun in [heaven] every day, to the scribe who reckons the grain . . . . . [Amenemhēt, justified]."

(3) "An offering-which-the-King-gives to Thoth, lord of Khmūn, and to Mā'et, that they may give a goodly burial after old age . . . . . [Amenemhēt, justified]."

##### LEFT DOORPOST. (Inscriptions wholly destroyed.)

#### CEILING-INSRIPTIONS. (Pl. XXX.)

The disposition of the long bands of ceiling-inscription in the Hall is shown in the diagram on Pl. XXX, which also contains hand-copies of the texts themselves.

<sup>1</sup> There was a different painting underneath this, for the colour has sealed away in parts, leaving traces of the earlier work visible.

<sup>2</sup> Read 

<sup>3</sup> The picture has been already published by WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, vol. II, p. 444, no. 315 = edit. BIRCH, vol. II, p. 75, no. 343; an early copy in *Brit. Mus.*, Add. MSS. 29,823, fol. 58 (Hay); and, together with the bull-fight, *ibid.*, fol. 59; the text only, SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1061–2 (a).

<sup>4</sup> Published SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1062 (a 2).

A. "[The scribe who counts the grain of Amūn(?)], Amenemhēt, he says: O my mother Nut, spread thyself over me, and place me among the stars indestructible that are in thee<sup>1</sup>; so shall I not die eternally."

B. "An offering-which-the-King-gives to Osiris in the Thinite nome, the Lord of Eternity, who quelled the warfare of the Two Lands, the again-born, the heir of Geb; may he grant<sup>2</sup> to travel in the divine bark in the train of the great god<sup>3</sup> in his procession of the beginning of the year, for the *ka* of the scribe who reckons the grain of [Amūn, Amen]emhēt, justified; and to receive a place among his followers in his place of U-pekr<sup>4</sup>; and to come in peace and justification, (his) soul to the sky, (his) corpse to the Underworld, for the steward of the Vizier, the scribe Amenemhēt."

C. "An offering-which-the-King-gives to the Western Necropolis, the Land of Hiding which conceals those who are Yonder,<sup>5</sup> which glorifies . . . . . of the Netherworld, which envelops the corpse . . . . . flesh, which conceals corruption,<sup>6</sup> the heart of the noble dead [being established(?) in] its place, all his limbs performing their functions; for the scribe who reckons the corn of Amūn, Amenemhēt, justified; mayest thou open for him all doors, may he come in and go forth as he listeth, without being turned back from Ro-stau<sup>7</sup> for ever and ever."



D.<sup>8</sup> "[An offering-which-the-King-gives to Amen-rē], Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands in Eleet-of-Places,<sup>9</sup> the living god who came into being of himself, who lives upon truth every day; may he grant *pṛt-r-hrw* offerings of bread and beer, oxen and geese, all things good and pure, the sweet breeze of the north wind, to drink water from the swirl (of the Nile), for the *ka* of the steward who reckons the grain of Amūn . . . . . Amenemhēt, justified, [born of the lady of the] house, [Antef] . . . . . Dhutmōse, justified."

E.<sup>8</sup> "An offering-which-the-King-gives to Anubis in the Divine Booth, who is in Ut, Lord of the Sacred Land, (namely) Up-wawet, presiding over the Two Lands; may he<sup>10</sup> grant the opening of the Netherworld, union with the burial-chamber,<sup>11</sup> to see rays [in the place of]<sup>12</sup> darkness; for the scribe who reckons the corn of Amūn, Amenemhēt, justified, born of the lady of the house, Antef . . . . ., the steward [of the Vizier], Amenemhēt, justified, begotten of the revered overseer of ploughed fields, Dhutmōse, the justified."


F.<sup>8</sup> "An offering-which-the-King-gives to Ernūtet, who is in the Sacred Land, the great lady of the Necropolis, Queen of the City of Eternity; mayest thou grant the noble to abound in thy provisions, mayest thou sustain him with the offerings that are in thee, mayest thou feed him from the altar of the Lord of Ceremonies in the course of every day; for the steward of the Vizier, the chief of the weavers of Amūn, the scribe Amenemhēt, [justified]; . . . . . [may he make] transformations to his heart's content, unhindered in that which he will for ever and ever."


G. "[An offering-which-the-King-gives to Harakhti(?)], Chief of the Two Lands, dwelling in the Sacred Place, the hawk which makes festive the breast,<sup>13</sup> which inundates the Two Lands with gold when he arises; may he grant offerings and provisions, cloth, thread, incense, and oil, gifts of all that groweth, what heaven

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor Sethe for the correct interpretation of this passage, which is based on *Pyramid Texts* (ed. SETHE), § 580 (c).

<sup>2</sup> Read , not  as in the Plate.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Rē.

<sup>4</sup> III is a corruption for , the hieratic form of which is closely similar. *W-pkr* is that district of Abydos where Osiris was buried (SCHÄFER, *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 41 [1904], pp. 107-110).

<sup>5</sup> ; *ntyw-īm* is a common periphrasis for "the dead."




<sup>6</sup> For this phrase cf. NAVILLE, *Litanies du Soleil*, Pl. 17, l. 80; MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. II, Pl. 17.

<sup>7</sup> A name of the subterranean world of gates and passages.

<sup>8</sup> The inscriptions D, E, F are written from left to right, not from right to left as indicated in the plate.

<sup>9</sup> These two names are the name of the temple and that of the sacred territory of Karnak respectively.

<sup>10</sup> The singular pronoun proves that Up-wawet, the wolf-god, is here identified with the dog Anubis.

<sup>11</sup> Emend   

<sup>12</sup> Restore    *hkw*.

<sup>13</sup> For the epithet *shb šnb-t*, cf. *Pap. Berlin*, 3055, 17, 2; *Cairo Hymn to Amūn*, 11, 1. The meaning may possibly be indicated by *Urkunden*, IV, 117, "May a torch be kindled for thee in the night, until the sun rise over thy breast."



gives, what earth creates, what the Nile brings; for the *ka* of the scribe who reckons the grain of Amūn, Amenemhēt,<sup>1</sup> justified, born of the lady of the house, Antef, justified; and to be in the train of this great god in his processions by water and by land, for the scribe Amenemhēt, justified."

### 3.—THICKNESS OF DOORWAY TO PASSAGE. (Pl. XXXI.)

No trace is left of the paintings in the southern thickness of this doorway, but on the north side a few words from the hieroglyphic superscription show that Amenemhēt and his wife Bāket were depicted in the act of walking towards the entrance of the tomb:—

"[Going forth upon earth . . . . . in order to see] his house of the living,<sup>2</sup> [his place of] being upon earth, by the scribe who reckons the grain, [Amenemhēt, justified]. [His] wife [his beloved of his desire, Bāket, justified]."

Had the paintings not only of this doorway, but also of the Entrance and of the doorway dividing the Passage from the Shrine, been preserved in their original integrity, they would probably have illustrated as well as any other scenes in the tomb the fine feeling for orientation and symmetry with which its designer was imbued. In the Entrance we may conjecture that Amenemhēt was shown worshipping on one side the rising, and on the other side the setting sun; and indeed from this place one may look across the valley toward the three peaks of the Arabian hills, beside which the sun rises every morning. The doorway that is here being considered lies midway between the outer sunlit world and the murky world of the dead, whence it is natural that its paintings should refer to the passage from the one region to the other. It was one of the most cherished hopes of the Egyptians that after death they might be able to "go forth in the day," returning to the tomb at eventide. The northern thickness exhibited Amenemhēt as he proceeded towards the door of his tomb to visit his former home, and the southern thickness must undoubtedly have depicted his return. In the third doorway, that which leads to the Shrine, we shall find that a funereal note is struck; on each side of this, Amenemhēt was shown adoring a deity of the dead, on the threshold of whose realm he there stood.<sup>3</sup>

### 4.—THE PASSAGE.

#### EAST END, THE DOOR-FRAMING. (Pl. XXXI.)

This door-framing consisted of a single line of coloured hieroglyphs with religious formulae running  $\longleftrightarrow$  from the centre of the lintel and vertically along the door-posts. The text is now badly damaged:—

RIGHT HAND.

"[An offering-which-the-King-gives to . . . . .] the Universal Lord, that he may grant existence beside the great [god], to receive the palette and [the papyrus] so as to write truth every [day]<sup>4</sup>; for the steward [of the Vizier], the scribe [Amenemhēt, justified]."

<sup>1</sup> The name of Amūn is here twice left intact by an oversight of Akhenaton's agents.

<sup>2</sup> *Pr n 'nhw* is the regular phrase in these tombs for describing the house where the deceased formerly lived during his life upon earth; cf. below, Pl. 16.

<sup>3</sup> A very similar arrangement of the scenes of the doorways is found in various other tombs; that of Menna (no. 69) is particularly instructive in this connection.

<sup>4</sup> The thought expressed in this prayer has close parallels in the Book of the Dead; its exact form seems, however, to be unique.



## LEFT HAND.

"[An offering-which-the-King-gives to . . . . .] who begot him, . . . . . that he may cause names [to endure] . . . . ."

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE PAINTINGS OF THE PASSAGE AND SHRINE.


As we pass out of the Hall into the Passage we turn our backs upon that part of the tomb which is entirely devoted to the illustration of its dead owner's earthly concerns, and henceforth the scenes that we shall have to inspect will prove to be mainly, if not wholly, concerned with his funeral and sepulchral existence. There is a further contrast to be drawn between the subjects treated in the Passage and Shrine on the one hand and in the subterranean Burial-chamber on the other. The former rooms were probably always more or less open to living persons, though after the day of burial perhaps only those directly interested in Amenemhēt's funereal cult were allowed access; in the Burial-chamber where he was entombed none ever came to disturb his solitude. Correspondingly, the wall-paintings of Passage and Shrine deal only with Amenemhēt's future life so far as it was still affected by his human relationships (funeral and subsequent funereal ceremonies). The Burial-chamber, on the contrary, was inscribed with texts from the Book of the Dead—spells that were supposed, when once they had found a place upon the walls, to be efficacious to benefit the dead man without further human intervention.


In order that we may gain a right impression of the range to be covered by the scenes in the Passage and the Shrine, it will be well to call to mind the various stages through which an Egyptian normally passed after the conclusion of his life upon earth. (1) First of all came his physical, bodily death, which was doubtless signalized by the outburst of loud lamentations on the part of the relatives and neighbours assembled round the death-bed. The event of death itself is only once, so far as I am aware, illustrated in an Egyptian tomb; this is in a sculptured tomb at Sakkarah, where the sudden death of the lord of the tomb is represented in a vivid manner, together with the grief of his widow and the rest of his household.<sup>1</sup> (2) Between the day of the actual death and the final interment there elapsed in the case of especially noble or wealthy persons a period of as much as seventy days,<sup>2</sup> during which many rites bearing directly or indirectly upon the funeral may have been performed. The body itself was during this interval in the hands of the embalmers, to whose place of work<sup>3</sup> it had doubtless been borne in state<sup>4</sup>; their labours, though of a religious character and fulfilled in accordance with a strict ritual,<sup>5</sup> were but rarely depicted in the tombs.<sup>6</sup> (3) The principal events of the day of burial were the great funeral procession and the service at the mouth of the shaft, both

<sup>1</sup> See BISSING-BRUCKMANN, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*, Pl. 18B, with the text thereto.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the evidence collected by GRIFFITH, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, pp. 29–30, compare for this number the passage from unpublished stelae of the Eighteenth Dynasty quoted below, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Wb-t*, or more fully *wb-t ut Pr-nfr*, "the place of purification of the Good House"; cf. Pl. XXIX, l. 47.

<sup>4</sup> In the unpublished tomb of Pepionkh at Meir (Old Kingdom), later to be edited by Mr. Blackman, there are interesting pictures of the procession to the workshop of the embalmer; the superscription reads: 

 "escorting to the workshop of the embalmer."

<sup>5</sup> See in MASPERO, *Mémoire sur quelques Papyrus du Louvre*, the essay on the *Rituel de l'Embaumement*.

<sup>6</sup> Only in certain tombs of the Nineteenth Dynasty, as that of Thoy (no. 23), unpublished, and that of Amenemope (no. 41), for which cf. CAILLIAUD, *Arts et Métiers*, Pl. 8.

regularly shown in the paintings of Theban tombs of the Tuthmoside age; together with the former were figured a number of ceremonies, the meaning and occasion of which have not yet been determined, but which at all events preceded the final interment. (4) The closing of the burial-shaft marked the beginning of a new phase in the existence of the dead noble, who, as we must never forget, was regarded as immortal. The children of the deceased and the priestly officiants who acted as their substitutes had still to nourish their departed parent and employer, and to accomplish certain rites in front of his false door both daily and on particular calendrical feast-days. Representations of this subsequent funerary cult are usually painted on the side-walls of the cult-chamber or Shrine.

Such, then, are the events and practices with which the frescoes of the Passage and Shrine must normally deal. Besides these there will usually be found pictures of the dead man adoring one or other of the sepulchral deities, *i.e.* Osiris, Anubis, or the Goddess of the West (Hathor). Between the paintings of the Passage and Shrine—in tombs which have these two separate chambers—the rough distinction may be drawn, that the Passage is devoted to events preceding, and the Shrine to events subsequent to, the interment of the mummy. It must be borne in mind, however, that this general statement is liable to many exceptions. The Theban tombs differ greatly, not only in the arrangement of their mural paintings, but also in their plan; one-chambered and two-chambered tombs are abundant, and in these, of course, the above remarks can obviously not apply. Even in the typical Tuthmoside tomb with three rooms, circumstances or caprice may lead to variations from the ideal scheme here described. For example: the artist may be unwilling to omit some typical scene of daily life, such as the hunting scene,<sup>1</sup> and yet may not find room for it in the Hall; in a case of this kind the scene in question may be crowded out into the Passage, where its intrusive presence will dislocate the normal arrangement of the other paintings.

#### SOUTH WALL, OUTER PORTION: THE JOURNEY BY RIVER TO ABYDOS. (Pl. XII.)

It frequently happens in three-chambered tombs of the ordinary type that the left wall of the Passage is adorned with scenes of funerary rites and of the funeral procession, while the opposite wall on the right hand is devoted to representations of the final ceremonies in front of the mummy known as the ritual of "Opening the Mouth."<sup>2</sup> Together with the former series of paintings is usually, but not always (*e.g.* tomb of Menna, no. 69) associated a nautical subject, namely that of the voyage to Abydos; so in the tomb of our Amenemhēt.

Before any attempt is made to explain the meaning of this scene, its details must first be examined. In the top register a large sailing-boat has just arrived in port, towing a lighter craft, in which are seen the white swathed figures of Amenemhēt and his wife seated under an

<sup>1</sup> For instances of this see above, p. 31, footnote 3.

<sup>2</sup> Funerary ceremonies and journey to Abydos on left wall, rites of "Opening the Mouth" on right wall: see tombs 11, 17, 21, 53, 78, 81, 100, 104. Both series together on left wall: see tombs 42, 84, 147. The tomb (no. 60) of the Vizier Antefoker, who lived in the reign of Sesostri I (Twelfth Dynasty), may have provided the model, for its graffiti show it to have been much visited and greatly admired at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty; here the funerary rites and journey to Abydos occur together on the left wall of the long entrance corridor, but there are no scenes of the ceremonies in front of the mummy. In tomb 69 the journey to Abydos accompanies the ceremonies before the mummy on the right-hand wall.



awning. In the foremost boat a couple of sailors are engaged in furling the sail, but the *rêis* at the prow is still giving orders to the steersman at the helm. The rest of the crew have been assisting the progress of the vessel by rowing, but they have already dropped their oars; one of them is leaning over the side and filling a jug with water to slake his thirst. Midships there is an ornate cabin, and the elaborate decoration of the rudder is also noticeable; the eyes on the latter probably were placed there for the same reason as eyes are painted on Chinese junks, namely in order to enable them to see where they are going. The second boat has, besides the figures of Amenemhêt and his wife, a man in the prow who holds outstretched a piece of white cloth; behind this man is a table of offerings. A sailor at the stern attends to a pair of steering-oars.<sup>1</sup> The superscription reads:—

“Coming in peace from Abydos, the god resting on the great seat, his journey having been successful and prosperous; done by the scribe Amenemhêt, to whom has been given justification.”

In the second register, moving in just the opposite direction, are the same two boats on their way to Abydos. Since they are faring with the stream and against the prevailing north wind, the sail is not in use, but the sailors are plying their oars lustily, in obedience to the *rêis* who brandishes his flail over their heads. In the second boat the table of offerings is replaced by a red bull that is being slaughtered. Here the heading runs:—


“Faring northward in peace to Abydos in order to ferry across the god in his festivals and in his sailing of the beginning of the year; done by the overseer, reckoner of the grain, Amenemhêt, and his wife Bâket, to whom is given justification.”

To what reality and to what conceptions do these representations correspond? Until the materials are collected and sifted anew only a provisional answer can be given to these questions.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions show that a visit to Abydos was intended, where the deceased should take part in the festivals of Osiris. Looked at from an external point of view, this journey is a sort of pilgrimage to the holiest spot in Egypt, but there are indications that something more than a mere participation in the ceremonies of an honoured god was meant; the dead man himself was identified with Osiris, and the purpose may have been to confirm and ratify this identification by causing him to enjoy the same rites as the god. Such an explanation seems suggested by the words, “the god resting on his great seat, his sailing having been prosperous.” Also the unusual wording of the phrase, “to whom has been given justification,”<sup>3</sup> instead of the simple epithet “justified,” may point in the same direction, as “justification” appears here to mean the legitimation of Osiris before his judges in Heliopolis, when his title was maliciously contested by Seth.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Note the three little heads at the level of the deck; they are probably ornamental parts of the boat, like the similar heads at the ends of the steering-oars.

<sup>2</sup> Hitherto the only detailed study seems to have been that of M. MASPERO (*Études égyptiennes*, Paris, 1879, vol. I, pp. 118 foll.). A mistaken etymology led M. Maspero into thinking that the purpose of the journey was to enable the soul of the departed to pass into the West through a cleft in the mountains (*pg̃*, *pkr̃*) near Abydos. Prof. Schäfer has shown (*Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 41 [1904], pp. 107–110) that *W-pkr̃*, “the region of the tree *pkr̃*,” was really the name of the burial-place of Osiris at Abydos.

<sup>3</sup> So again TYLOR, *Tomb of Renni*, Pl. 9.

<sup>4</sup> The epithet  *ma'khrow*, lit. “true of voice,” is certainly a juridical term; M. Maspero's much-quoted suggestion that it refers to the correct pitch of the voice in intoning religious formulae is contrary to the evidence. Further investigation is, however, required to determine the reasons for its application to the dead; I fancy it is for the reason stated in the text, but later the expression may have alluded to the deceased's acquittal at his trial before Osiris.

It is well known that living Egyptians took pride in having visited Abydos and in having beheld the passion of Osiris, as it was dramatically represented at the Abydene festivals. Professor Erman<sup>1</sup> is probably right in seeing in the posthumous journey depicted in the tombs the belated acquittal of a duty or meritorious act which many accomplished during their life. But at what moment did this journey take place? In a tomb at Beni Hasan<sup>2</sup> it is the mummy itself that fares down to Abydos "to become acquainted with the matters of Abydos"; in this case the voyage naturally took place *after* the completion of the process of mummification and *before* the interment. In the tomb of Amenemhēt and in other Theban tombs, however, it is neither the mummy nor yet a living personage that is depicted in the wall-paintings; nor again is there any sufficient reason for interpreting the white tightly swathed figures as those of statues. The probability therefore is that at this period the voyage to Abydos had no objective reality, but was replaced by a mere pictorial representation on the tomb-wall.<sup>3</sup>

SOUTH WALL, MIDDLE AND EASTERN PORTIONS: FUNERAL CEREMONIES.  
(Pls. X, XI, XII, AND XIII.)

Equally problematical are the rites and ceremonies next to be described; and here, too, the collection and comparison of all similar scenes, of which but a few are published, is the first necessity. Meanwhile all that can be offered to the reader is a tiresome sequence of conjectures and queries. The most complete series of parallel representations yet published is to be found in M. Virey's work on the tomb of Rekhmerē,<sup>4</sup> to which constant reference will be made. The comparison of the few representations yet published from Thebes and elsewhere proves that no significance can be attached to the order in which the individual rites occur; and it is further clear that in most cases, and perhaps even in the extensive series in the tomb of Rekhmerē, only a selection of the total number of ceremonies is shown.

The three upper registers of this complex of rites are flanked towards the interior of the tomb by a large figure of the Goddess of the West (Pl. X), the general movement of the scenes being in her direction. The identity of the goddess is indicated as usual by the hieroglyphic symbol for the West, which she bears upon her head attached to a red fillet; in her hands are the *was*-sceptre and the *ankh*, or symbol of life. The inscription reads:—

"Spoken by the Western Desert: O steward who reckonest the grain, thou scribe Amenemhēt, twice-welcome to me in peace, that I may embrace thee and enfold thee in my arms, and command life [for thy . . . .]. Verily I will be a protection to thy flesh, and my arms shall encircle thee for ever and ever."

In these words the arrival of the mummy at the tomb is clearly foreshadowed, and it will be convenient therefore first of all to pick out those scenes which are definitely connected with the

<sup>1</sup> *Aegyptische Religion*<sup>2</sup>, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. 29 (Twelfth Dynasty).

<sup>3</sup> Further points to be noted in this wholly provisional discussion are: (1) M. Maspero's references (*op. cit.*, p. 124, note 1) to various nautical scenes in tombs of the Old Kingdom may refer to analogous funerary journeys, but do not actually depict that to Abydos; none of them names Abydos, which at this time was only in course of becoming the sacred city of Osiris that it later grew to be, and a few are clearly secular scenes. (2) In tomb 147 at Thebes a journey to Busiris is depicted beside the journey to Abydos, as also in NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pls. 14, 16. For more suggestions on this topic see below, p. 57 and p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> PH. VIREY, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmara = Mém. Miss. arch. franç. au Caire*, tome V, fascicule 1.



funeral procession. In tombs of a somewhat later date, such as that of Haremhab,<sup>1</sup> the funeral procession is depicted more consecutively and in greater detail than in the early Tuthmoside tombs, and from there and elsewhere our description could be greatly amplified. The mummy lies on a bed under an ornate canopy that has been placed upon a sledge (Pl. XII, third row); the "great kite" and the "little kite,"<sup>2</sup> as the women impersonating Isis and Nephthys are called, stand respectively at the head and at the foot of the hearse as chief mourners. Two red oxen draw the hearse (Pl. XI, third row), and over them are the words:—

"Praise is given in the sky, and jubilation in the Underworld. High is thy might, even as great<sup>3</sup> are thy monuments. Making<sup>4</sup> a [goodly] burial for the scribe who reckons the grain, Amenemhēt, justified; causing the god to ascend unto his horizon, conducting him to the shaft of the Necropolis in peace, in peace, beside the great god. Proceeding<sup>5</sup> in peace to the sky, to the horizon, to the Field-of-Reeds (*Šḫt 'Irw*), to the Underworld, to the hall *šm-t* (?), or to the place wherever(?) he is."<sup>6</sup>

The driver of the oxen holds an improvised whip of leaves; he is followed by two men with arms uplifted in lamentation, and by others whose hands are on the ropes of the hearse. These are mourners belonging to the general public, or as the accompanying inscription<sup>7</sup> (Pl. XII, bottom right) says:—

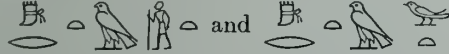
"All the patricians and all the common folk are dragging."

Behind them again are first a lector-priest "making (a burning of) incense and pouring libations," and second a closely mantled priest who carries a wand and whose name is given as "the great servant"; a like figure is depicted in connection with the funeral procession in a mastaba of the Old Kingdom.<sup>8</sup> Behind the hearse were represented various men of high rank, their staves of office in their hands; the inscription, here divided into several sections, each of two lines, may be rendered:—

"Spoken by the courtiers.<sup>9</sup> Proceeding [to] the tomb, receiving offerings (*pwt*) among the great ones in the funeral procession<sup>10</sup> of the Osiris Amenemhēt, justified."

In the top row of Pls. XI and XII are to be seen a number of servants carrying furniture and ornaments destined to be buried together with the mummy. They too formed part of the procession; in the scene from the tomb of Haremhab they precede the hearse. Most of the objects they bring resemble those shown upon the painted coffins of the Middle Kingdom, and


<sup>1</sup> Tomb no. 78, from which the funeral procession has been reproduced by WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs* (ed. BIRCH), vol. III, Pl. 66, opposite p. 444.

<sup>2</sup> . The bird *dryt* is apparently *rpe milvus*; in form it closely resembles the falcon, but in certain Theban tombs, e.g. no. 1, it lacks the characteristic plumage and markings of the falcon's head, and is painted a reddish-brown colour.

<sup>3</sup> Read .

<sup>4</sup> For the following words cf. TYLOR, *Tomb of Paheri* (Eg. Expl. Fund), Pl. 2.

<sup>5</sup>  *wd*.


<sup>6</sup> The text of Amenemhēt seems to have run: *r bw* ; cf. perhaps [*r*] *bw ntr pn im*, Pl. 13, top left. Probably, however, *ntf im* is to be emended; cf. in Paheri, *bw nty h'ty- Pšlry pn im*.

<sup>7</sup> .

<sup>8</sup> LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, II, Pl. 101 (B).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. TYLOR, *loc. cit.*, where *šmsw*, "followers," is substituted for *smr[w]*, "friends."

<sup>10</sup>  is for *šms wd*, the technical name of the funeral procession.

many of them have been found in actual burials. The first attendant holds in his hands (Pl. XI) two white statuettes of the King with the red crown of Lower Egypt upon his head. Then come two more statuettes with red bodies, white loin-cloths, and yellow maces and *bâtons*. A white vessel-stand with yellow vessels is next seen, borne on the shoulders of an attendant, who in his left hand grasps a green *uas*-sceptre. Farther along four chests are being brought, the lids of which are secured by a sealed string attached to pins on the lid itself and on the adjoining sides. In order that the spectator may learn what is in the chests, their contents are depicted above them; in the first chest were two white loin-cloths of the kind known as *shendoyet*,<sup>1</sup> and two vulture pectorals, one of gold painted yellow and one of lapis painted blue; in the second chest were an inlaid blue circlet for the hair, an inlaid gold pair of bracelets, a yellow flail, and another object; in the third chest (Pl. XII) was a gold signet-ring with a blue signet, together with another inlaid bracelet, two necklets of blue, red and green, and a tassel-like pendant of the same colours; the fourth chest contained another loin-cloth as before, a golden hawk-head surmounted by the solar disk, two of those curious jointed and tied pieces of wood (?) which have given rise to the phonetic hieroglyph  for *ris*, "to awake," and lastly two shields.

To the funeral procession also undoubtedly belong the figures in the second register immediately below the attendants who carry the funerary furniture; and thus it becomes evident that the central parts of the first three registers on Pls. XI and XII, bounded to the left by the voyage to Abydos, and to the right by representations of mysterious and problematical ceremonies, all belong together and were meant to be looked at as a whole. Did the small coffer under a canopy which is drawn upon a sledge by three men preceded by a lector (Pl. XI) contain the Canopic jars? The probability of this seems considerable, but the proof is lacking.<sup>2</sup> The bearers represent the inhabitants of certain cities which were in some way concerned with the mythical burial of Osiris, and are often mentioned in this connection;<sup>3</sup> this is proved by the accompanying inscriptions, which are as follows:—

Beside the lector:—

"Said by the lector: O ye people of Pē<sup>4</sup> (Buto), Dep (another part of Buto), Unu (Hermopolis), Neter (Behbēt), Sais, and Het-urt-kau (unknown), ye thousand of Pē, ye thousand of . . . ., and all folk; the god comes, do him reverence!"<sup>5</sup>

In front of the men who draw the sledge are the words:—

"Your hands upon your ropes!"

Behind the sledge are two "courtiers" with long-stalked papyrus blossoms, after whom (Pl. XII, second row) come other men dragging on another sledge a black object of ill-defined shape. This is the much-discussed *tekenu*, which is proved by various representations to consist of a crouching man concealed beneath an ox-hide. Some interesting but highly obscure scenes in the tomb of Menthirkhopshef<sup>6</sup> suggested to M. Maspero that a primitive human sacrifice was

<sup>1</sup> Coptic *ϣεντω*.

<sup>2</sup> In the tombs of Paheri and Rekhmerē this coffer is carried by means of poles on the shoulders of several men.

<sup>3</sup> So *e.g.* already in the Middle Kingdom, NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh*, II, Pl. 9, no. 8; and in the Theban tomb of Antefoker (no. 60).

<sup>4</sup> Read ;  is an error for 

<sup>5</sup> For the last words, *cf.* VIREY, Pl. 23, middle register.

<sup>6</sup> See the new publication of this tomb in N. DE G. DAVIES, *Five Theban Tombs*.

here alluded to, for which the more humane habits of a later age had substituted an ox. It would take us too far afield to discuss afresh this difficult problem, that has already given rise to much loose and ill-founded speculation. Suffice it here to state that the evidence proves the *tekenu* to have been a regular feature of the funeral procession.<sup>1</sup> The superscription is extremely obscure:—

“Dragging the *tekenu* by the people of Ked(?) and the *si-srkt*(?)-priest, going forth . . . . and coming in(?) four times by the . . . . northern nomes(??)”<sup>2</sup>

On its arrival at the entrance to the tomb the cortège was welcomed by dancers, often depicted with curious conical head-dresses and known as the *Muu*.<sup>3</sup> These, though without the usual head-dress, are shown in their proper place in the tomb of Amenemhēt (Pl. XI, middle row), the scene being described as “the dance of the *Muu*.” Overhead is the further description:—

“Dancing<sup>4</sup> to him by the people of Pē.”

A more sedate welcome was given by a lector-priest who stands and reads from a long roll of papyrus (Pl. XI, third row). Over his head are some but half-intelligible words:—

“Said by the lector: Receive . . . .”<sup>5</sup>

and this is what he reads:—

“Arrival after(?) they have done reverence to the scribe who reckons the grain of Amūn, [Amenemhēt, justified].

“Praise . . . . in joy, for the chief of the weavers [of Amūn], Amenemhēt, justified.

“Hail(?) to thee, O god, in raising him(?), to the steward of the Vizier, Amenemhēt, justified.

“The god arises in his Palace and shines as Rē himself, Amenemhēt, justified.

“Prostration is purc unto thee, arising in . . . ., Amenemhēt, justified.

“O how the Ennead rejoices at thy beauty, to the overseer of the ploughed lands, Amenemhēt, justified.

“The gods on their banners arise for thee in the Broad-hall, for the scribe of the Vizier, Amenemhēt, justified.


“Hail to thee, O great Ennead, for the steward who counts the people, Amenemhēt, justified.”

Probably these are the openings of well-known paeans or hymns of praise, for the entire transcription of which the wall-space was not sufficient.

<sup>1</sup> This is particularly clear in the tomb of Haremhab often quoted above, and also in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Shetepēbrē (QUIBELL, *Ramesseum*, 9). For other evidence as to the *tknw*, see the references in MORET, *Mystères égyptiens*, pp. 42 foll.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription accompanying this scene usually begins with the words *st: tknw*; these words alone in the tomb of Antefoker. For a close parallel to the corrupt text in our tomb, cf. in tomb no. 112 (Menkheperasonb):

 In tomb 224

(Ahmose) we find similarly . For *si srkt*(?), perhaps the bearer of the strange half-human, half-scorpion-like creature familiar from the pictures of the *Sed*-festival, cf. DAVIES, *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. ix, reg. 3, and in the inscriptions from Sinai.



<sup>3</sup> For the name and its meaning see my note on *Sinuhe*, B, 194–195; the latest discussion is that of MORET, *Mystères égyptiens*, pp. 257 foll., where various references are given. In Old Kingdom pictures of the funeral (e.g. LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, II, Pl. 101; DAVIES, *Deir el Gebrāwi*, I, Pl. 10; II, Pl. 7) dancers are also seen, though without the conical head-dress.

<sup>4</sup> Is *hwt* a dialectal form of *hbt*?

<sup>5</sup> For a parallel (poorly copied) to this and the next inscription, see VIREY, Pl. 21, third row, right.



Having now eliminated from the paintings of this wall all those figures which with certainty refer to the funeral procession, we must now give our consideration to a series of pictures of the utmost obscurity. These represent a number of rites or religious acts which will in the following paragraphs be enumerated in turn, with brief renderings of and comments upon the inscriptions.

(1) Pl. XI, top right. A skiff containing a white naos is seen upon the water, approaching the hieroglyphic symbol for the word   *hrt-ntr*, "Necropolis." A "lector" squats in the bows, a burning lamp just behind him; over this lamp are the words:—

"Rejoicing in faring upstream."

A "courtier" stands in the stern, and a figure kneeling on dry land places the paddle that the courtier holds in the water; above is an unintelligible inscription:—

"The fall of (?) the water by the instructor (?) of . . . ." <sup>1</sup>



The title of the whole scene reads as follows:—

"Going about upstream on the surface of (?) the water by the steward and scribe Amenemhēt, the justified, opposite the tomb-shaft. Putting to land at the great city in the Thinite nome."

(2) Obviously continuous with the above is the next scene on the right (Pl. X, top left), where a man is seen running towards a shrine with two paddles in his hands, possibly those which had been consecrated in the previous rite. The superscription explains that they are being offered to Osiris:—

"Going forth on the land by the revered courtiers . . . . (?) ,<sup>2</sup> putting to land in the presence of Osiris the scribe Amenemhēt."


For parallels to (1) and (2), see VIREY, Pl. 27, where the shrine is absent and replaced by the large figure of Osiris which dominates this and the registers above it.

(3) Pl. X, top row, next right of (2). The women who represent Isis and Nephthys kneel and present bowls of water before four tanks; these women are here called respectively   *Mnknw* and *Dmdyt*, names which we cannot vocalize, and the former of which may perhaps have something to do with the word for "garden."<sup>3</sup> The title "presentation (?) to the desert" suggests that this rite may symbolize the fertilization of the barren desert-sand, whereby it was made a fitting dwelling-place for Osiris; this, however, is a mere guess. See VIREY, Pl. 27.

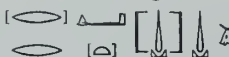
(4) Pl. X, second row. A kneeling man called the *Imy-khant* offers the foreleg of an ox in front of a shrine or false door; cf. VIREY, Pl. 21, where this scene likewise appears in front of the Goddess of the West. The inscription reads:—

"The *Imy-khant* enters into the [sacred (?)] place in order to put on the ground a head and foreleg<sup>4</sup> in . . . . the Western Desert, the Osiris the scribe Amenemhēt."

<sup>1</sup> 

<sup>2</sup> Variant Rekhmerē: . This rite is discussed by H. KEES, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*, pp. 81-2, who thinks that it symbolizes nothing more than the happy arrival of the dead man in the realm of Osiris.

<sup>3</sup> Variant Rekhmerē: 

<sup>4</sup> Restore  with the help of the duplicate in the tomb of Rekhmerē.




the corresponding picture in the tomb of Rekhmerē (VIREY, Pl. 24) shows to be "the booth of Anubis." Text:—

"[Approaching the divine booth of Anubis] by Amenemhēt, the justified. Entering into the . . . .<sup>1</sup> which is in the Necropolis. Proceeding in peace to the gods."

(8) The next picture, both in Rekhmerē and Amenemhēt, depicts a man bending over what is perhaps a receptacle for offerings.<sup>2</sup> Inscription:—

"Said by the *sem*-priest, the courtier, the *Imy-khant*, the *Wēr-nūter*, the divine father beloved of the god, the hereditary prince, and the royal kinsman: 'Awake,<sup>3</sup> O scribe Amenemhēt, and descend to rest(?)<sup>4</sup> upon the staircase of cooling(?).' Escort by the royal kinsmen and courtiers, the lector, *sem*, and courtiers, the *Imy-khant* and *Wēr-nūter*, the divine father beloved of the god, and the hereditary prince. They speak many glorifications and spells for the scribe who reckons the grain, Amenemhēt."

(9) Pl. XIII, middle fragment, top register. A lector speaks to two men who are described as  *Wēr-nūter*, a priestly title already encountered in (8):—

"Recitation. Placing the hand;<sup>5</sup> binding(?) living oxen at the going of . . . ."

This same inscription in VIREY, Pl. 27, adjoins the scene which here occurs immediately to the left, and which depicts eight oxen bound and arranged symmetrically about a tank surrounded by trees. Above:—

"Recitation. Placing the hand upon eight oxen<sup>6</sup> . . . ."

(10) Pl. XIII, fragment to left, top register. A scene not to be identified with certainty; *cf.*, perhaps, VIREY, Pl. 22, top right. Two "lectors" stand; beside the second of them:—

"Going forth upon land by the lector . . . ."


(11) Pl. XIII, to left of (10); see VIREY, Pl. 21 (20). Some men, described as "the courtier," the *sem*, and the *Imy-khant*, drag a boat, which is on the water, and contains a naos with the two female mourners on each side of it. Above:—

"Said by the lector. Making for him<sup>7</sup> an abode . . . . in the midst of the Netherworld. Conducting [Amenemhēt . . . . to Sais . . . .]."

Also part of this scene is a lector who stands before the boat and the men who tow it, his back turned to a high structure with conventional plants and naoi on its top. This lector reads from a large roll of papyrus:—

"Said by the lector: In peace, in peace with the great god, O Osiris the scribe, Amenemhēt, [to] the place where this [noble] god is."


(12) Pl. XIII, lower registers. Too fragmentary to need much comment. On the extreme left is the "women's pavilion"; *cf.* VIREY, Pl. 25, top left. The richly ornamented naoi to the right of this are those shown in VIREY, Pl. 28.


<sup>1</sup> Rekhmerē appears to have 

<sup>2</sup> See the article by JÉQUIER, *Bulletin de l'Institut français . . . du Caire*, vol. 7, pp. 89-96.

<sup>3</sup> Read *nhs* (?).

<sup>4</sup>  *wh*?

<sup>5</sup> , *i.e.*, perhaps, "setting to work."

<sup>6</sup> Restore     

<sup>7</sup> Emend *nf* for *f*.



Impossible though it is to explain the details of the ceremonies above enumerated, certain conclusions of varying degrees of probability are suggested by their inscriptions. First of all as to their symbolic meaning. Nothing could be more evident than that the mummy is throughout identified with the dead Osiris, the circumstances of whose funeral are thus revived and mimetically represented in these rites. Isis and Nephthys, the two mourning sisters, "the great kite" and "the little kite," were impersonated by the widow and some other close female relative. Nine friends of the deceased played the parts of nine courtiers, whom we must suppose to have been specially prominent in the Osirian myth; perhaps they alone of the subjects of Osiris had remained faithful to the memory of their murdered lord. The allusions in the texts to Buto, Busiris, and Abydos are to be explained in the same way, for these towns were all associated in some way with the legend of Osiris. It is not to be assumed, however, that each several rite represents an episode of the divine drama; in their origin some may well be quite independent of it. All that can safely be said is that in the form in which we have them they are saturated with Osirian reminiscences.

Second, as to the material or actual basis of these representations. The investigations of the last few years have made it increasingly evident that until far down in the Old Kingdom no dead man except the Pharaoh himself was identified with Osiris. It therefore becomes exceedingly likely that the ceremonial depicted on the two walls of the Passage, some rites belonging to which have already been traced back to Old Kingdom originals, represents the actual pomp and circumstance attendant upon the burial of kings of the Fifth and Sixth, if not also of earlier, Dynasties. Naturally enough the contemporary nobles would be eager to imitate on their own behalf the splendid obsequies of their sovereigns, and the custom of doing so, hesitatingly adopted at first, seems to have become universal before the Middle Kingdom. No adaptation of the ritual to the non-royal character of its new employers seems to have been made, so that we find among the funeral furniture depicted on the sarcophagi and on the tomb-walls belonging to private individuals such unsuitable objects as the statues with kingly crowns (Pl. XI) and such royal insignia as the vulture pectoral and the *uas*-sceptre (*ibid.*). The identification of all virtuous dead men with Osiris was the ultimate consequence of this usurpation of the royal funerary ritual.<sup>1</sup> In theory, therefore, it would seem that the observances remained the same whether used for Pharaoh or whether used for one of his subjects. In practice there must have been a difference, and that difference must have consisted in the omission, according to the wealth of the dead man, of a greater or less number of the rites. Neither for the Middle Kingdom nor for the Eighteenth Dynasty can we follow up this problem in detail; there are, however, certain texts bearing upon the question that may conveniently be quoted here, though it will be seen that they allude only to the more important of the funeral ceremonies, in particular the procession to the tomb and the ritual of the "Opening of the Mouth." In the

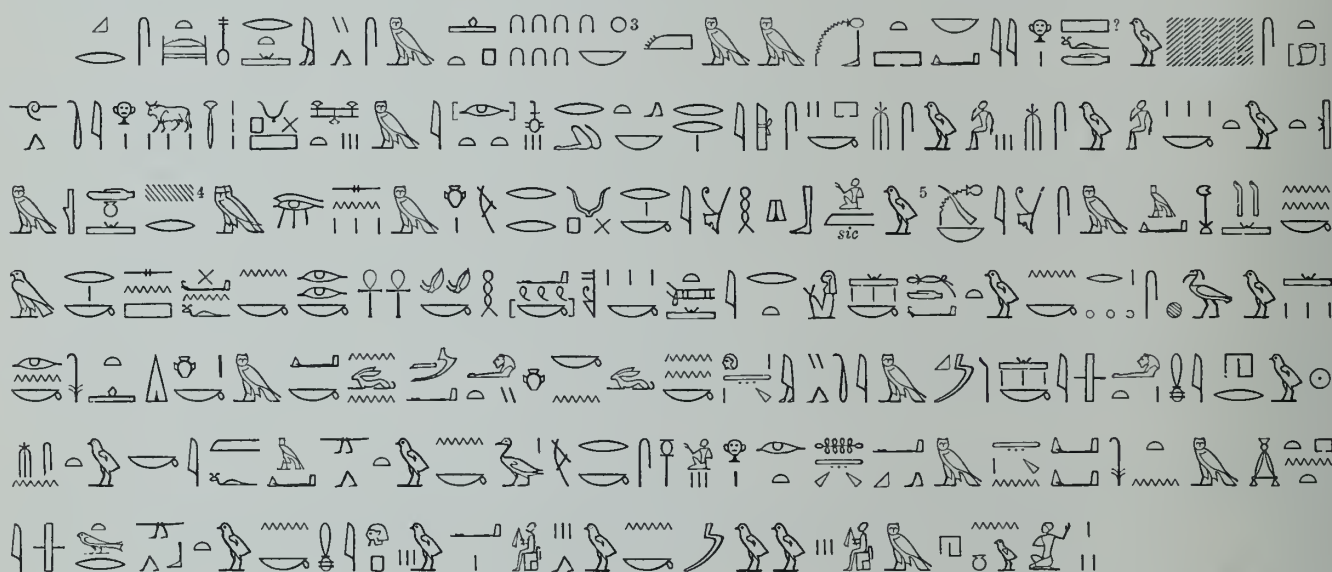
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<sup>1</sup> On the "democratization" of the old funerary literature and the like, see especially SETHE, *Pyramidentexte*, Vorwort, p. vii. In various parts of the present volume there will be found references to the way in which private individuals modelled both their tombs and their funerary cult upon royal originals; for pictures on the walls see pp. 27, 31, for the daily ritual of offering see p. 78, and for the *hṯp dī nīswt* formula see p. 87. This is not the place to do more than allude to the transformation in the conception of the god Osiris effected by this process. We now begin to see clearly that Osiris, at the origin, cannot have been a god of the dead; originally perhaps an ancient king deified (*pace* those students of religion to whom euhemeristic theories are anathema), Osiris first became the type of the dead king, and then only after the Old Kingdom a king of the dead.

story of Sinuhe (Twelfth Dynasty) the exile is urged not to forgo the benefits of an Egyptian burial<sup>1</sup>:—

“Remember thou the day of burial, the passing into beatitude; when the night shall be devoted to thee with oils and with bandages, the handiwork of Tayt.<sup>2</sup> There is a procession to be made for thee on the day thou art reunited with the earth: thy mummy-case of gold, with head of lapis-lazuli, a heaven (*i.e.* canopy?) above thee; the while that thou art placed upon the hearse, and oxen drag thee. Then shall musicians await thy coming, and the dance of the *Muu* be performed at the door of thy tomb. The words of offering shall be pronounced on thy behalf, and victims slaughtered at the door of thy stele.”

Still more valuable, though of later date, are two duplicate stelae, hitherto unpublished, from the Theban tombs of Dhōut (no. 110) and of Antef (no. 164), the former dating from the reign of Hatshepsowet and the latter from that of Tuthmosis III. The entire passage relating to the burial rites is here quoted from the stele of Dhōut:—





“A goodly burial arrives in peace, thy seventy days having been fulfilled in thy place of embalming. Thou (?) art placed on the bier (?)<sup>6</sup> . . . . and art drawn by bulls without blemish, the road being besprinkled with milk<sup>7</sup> until thou reachest the door of thy tomb. The children of thy children, united of one accord, weep with loving hearts. Opened is thy mouth by the lector, and thy purification is made by the *sem*-priest. Horus adjusts for thee thy mouth, and opens for thee thy eyes and ears, thy flesh and thy bones being perfect in all that appertains to thee. There are recited for thee spells and glorifications. There is made for thee an offering-which-the-King-gives, thy own true heart being with thee, thy breast that thou didst have upon earth. Thou comest in thy former shape, even as on the day wherein thou wast born. There is brought to thee the son thou lovest, the courtiers making obeisance. Thou enterest into the land given of the King, into the sepulchre of the West. There are performed rites for thee as for those of yore; the *Muu* come to thee in jubilation.”

<sup>1</sup> *Sinuhe*, B, 190–196.






















<sup>2</sup> Tayt was the goddess of weaving.

<sup>3</sup> Variant    ; in the version of Dhōut  is several times written in place of 

<sup>4</sup> Read 

<sup>5</sup> Variant rightly:  


<sup>6</sup> Cf. the word *šfd-yt*, for which see GARDINER, *Admonitions*, p. 54.

<sup>7</sup> Cf.                     

from my own collation of NEWBERRY, *Life of Rekhmara*, Pl. 8, l. 43.

Excellently as these texts corroborate the general conclusions formed by Egyptologists as to the order of the various burial solemnities, they unfortunately throw but little light on the rites here in question. Some of these, as for instance nos. 1 and 5, should perhaps be connected with the journey to Abydos discussed in a previous section. A possibility there not suggested is that these various journeys by water were sometimes simulated by brief manoeuvres on the local reach of the Nile; perhaps the words "opposite the tomb-shaft" in 1 may refer to the tomb of the deceased, not to that of Osiris. There is no sufficient reason for thinking that the rites of this series belong exclusively to the day of burial. Among the same series of paintings in other tombs,<sup>1</sup> but destroyed in that of Amenemhēt, is a figure of a man seated on a large jar, over whose head two priests pour purifying streams of water; it is difficult not to see in this representation an early phase of the process of embalming.

#### NORTH WALL, LOWEST ROWS: CEREMONIES BEFORE THE MUMMY. (Pl. XVII.)

If all other evidence on the point were in default, the stele of Dhōut quoted in the last section would suffice to show that the rites depicted at the bottom of the north wall form the continuation and conclusion of those on the south wall. The mummy has now reached the entrance of the tomb and the first acclamations with which it was there greeted have died down; important ceremonies have, however, yet to be enacted before it is finally consigned to its subterranean resting-place. The prolonged attentions of the embalmers have prepared the body to withstand the ravages of time, and a diligently observed ritual has averted the dangers attendant on the transitional state separating the life on earth from the life eternal. But still the mummy is an inert corpse, unable to accomplish those simple habitual actions that are characteristic of and essential to life. With all solemnity the bodily functions of the deceased must be restored to him, and for the first time in his revived state he must be dressed and fed. The elaborate liturgy by which these things were effected is named, after the most important of its diverse episodes, "the Opening of the Mouth," or *Upt-ro* (). Though doubtless later elaborated and varied in detail, this ritual dates from very ancient times; it is mentioned in one of the earliest sculptured tombs we possess.<sup>2</sup> The texts and illustrative vignettes thereto have been collected and commentated in an elaborate and valuable work by Professor Schiaparelli under the title *Il libro dei Funerali*.<sup>3</sup> In the tomb of Amenemhēt only a much abridged and now considerably damaged version is to be found,<sup>4</sup> which none the less suffices to mark the representative character of the tomb.

In early times it would seem that the "Opening of the Mouth" took place not before the mummy, but before a statue of the dead man. The introductory sentences of the ritual tell us that the ceremonies were performed "on behalf of the statue in the 'House-of-gold,'" that is to

<sup>1</sup> Much damaged in the tomb of Rekhmerē, VIREY, Pl. 20; see TYLOR, *Tomb of Renni*, Pl. 11.

<sup>2</sup> The tomb of Methen, LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, II, Pl. 4. See, too, *Pyramid Texts*, 1329.

<sup>3</sup> E. SCHIAPARELLI, *Il libro dei Funerali*, 3 vols. in folio, Torino, 1882-1890. See, too, BUDGE, *The Book of Opening the Mouth*, 2 vols., London, 1909. The able essay and critique in MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*, vol. I, pp. 283-324, should also be consulted.

<sup>4</sup> The texts have been already published by SCHIAPARELLI, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 285-287.



say apparently in the actual workshop where the statue was made;<sup>1</sup> and even in the New Kingdom, as in the tombs of Rekhmerē and Sethos I, a statue is still sometimes depicted in the wall-paintings as the recipient of these rites. The new and unconventional representations of the funeral ceremonies that came into vogue at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty afford good evidence of the practice of that period. The scene in Wilkinson<sup>2</sup> from the recently rediscovered tomb of Roy, or the vignette from the papyrus of Henūfer published by Naville,<sup>3</sup> are excellent authorities for the facts; here, continuous with the picture of the funeral procession itself, we see the mummy supported by a man wearing a mask with the head of a dog (this of course is the embalmer in the form of Anubis) in front of the stele at the door of the tomb; the wailing widow embraces the mummy, while priests extend the instrument to open the mummy's mouth, make libations or offer incense, a lector standing behind the while and reading out the ritual from a papyrus which he holds in his hands. Such probably was the actual form of the burial service at the time when Amenemhēt was buried; though possibly, if his funeral was on a very elaborate scale, all the separate rites shown in the tomb of Rekhmerē may have been enacted on his behalf. In any case we may reasonably suppose the theatre of operations to have been the open space or platform outside the tomb-door, and their central figure to have been not the statue but the actual mummified remains of the deceased.

In the wall-paintings of Amenemhēt's tomb, to which we must now at length direct our attention, it is the mummy that is depicted, a yellow form with a wig of blue. It stands, according to the traditional prescription, on a little raised mound of sand, which is coloured pink with red spots. Wherever the priestly figure that performs the religious act is the *sem*-priest, it has been hammered out by the fanaticism of the Akhenaton heretics.<sup>4</sup> Time is responsible for further damage of the wall, which in no case can have exhibited more than a brief *resumé* of the ritual. The beginning of this was at the right end of the lower row, while its final scene appears at the left end of the upper row. The opening ceremonies consisted of purifications and fumigations with incense, the usual preface and preliminary of every Egyptian ritual. Then followed some obscure scenes representing the awakening of the *sem*-priest, who was shown huddled up on a couch. After some less important rites came then the slaughtering of a bull, the foreleg of which was held up in front of the mummy as a sort of foretaste of the feast to come. It is after this act that the first rites preserved in the paintings of our tomb occur; they

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<sup>1</sup> The *h̄t-nb* is usually identified with the *pr-n-nb*, or sarcophagus-room, mentioned in the Turin plan of one of the Royal Tombs. For this identification there is not the least evidence, and it is surely far from probable that these long and complicated rites took place at the bottom of a hot and inaccessible tomb-shaft. Imagine the priests clambering down in their clean white robes! The *h̄t-nb* is often named as the workshop where statues were made; see the references given in SCHÄFER, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos*, p. 15, n. 3, together with *Inscription Dédicatoire*, 33; *Harris*, 6, 12; 7, 13; 47, 2. The view here taken will seem more plausible than it appears at first sight if we remember that the funerary rites here under discussion are derived from those celebrated in the pyramid-temples of the kings, among the many chambers of which there may well have been one in which the statues were not only kept, but actually made. The act of opening the mouth of statues is mentioned in close connection with the act of fashioning them in more than one ancient text; see *Palermo Stone*, verso, l. 4, no. 3, and especially *Urkunden*, I, 114. A third possibility has been suggested by H. KEES, *Opfertanz*, p. 227, n. 26, who shows that in at least one late temple the sanctuary was called *h̄t-nb*, from which one might guess that this name was also given to the Shrine in the tombs. But no direct evidence of such a use is forthcoming in early texts, and therefore the solution offered in the text is certainly preferable.

<sup>2</sup> *Manners and Customs* (ed. BIRCH), vol. III, Pl. 68, opposite p. 449.


<sup>3</sup> NAVILLE, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. II, Pl. 2.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 21, 24.

show the *sem*-priest opening the mouth of the mummy with various sacred implements, now seldom distinguishable owing to the mutilations they have undergone. The legends read:—

(Scene 1.) “The *sem*-priest.”

“The second time with the *ntr*[*tī*?].”

“I open for thee thy mouth, I open for thee thy mouth with the adze () of Anubis wherewith the mouth of every god<sup>1</sup> is opened.”

(Scene 2.) “The *sem*-priest.”

“The first time<sup>2</sup> with the *dua'-wēr*.”

“I open for thee . . . .,” &c., as before.

Two scenes at the extreme right end of the preserved portion of the upper row really appear to follow the scenes already described, though their position is irregular:—

(Scene 3.) “The *sem*-priest.”

“I open for thee thy mouth . . . . with . . . .”

(Scene 4.) “The first time with } the [Great] Magician.”  
“The second time with }  
“I open thy mouth . . . .”

The “Great Magician” (*Wrt-hkꜣw*) is the name given to a rod with the head of a ram at its extremity, with which the “Opening of the Mouth” is at this point simulated. For the corresponding texts to scenes 1–4 in SCHIAPARELLI’s great work, see *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 103–118.

As in the earlier funereal ceremonies on the south wall, the whole of the procedure is pervaded and dominated by reminiscences of the legend of Osiris. A dramatic crisis, a veritable *Ἀναγνώρισις* or Recognition-scene, now occurs in the shape of the introduction into the tomb of the Beloved Son, the embodiment of Horus. The *sem*-priest approaches, preceded by the Beloved Son:—

(Scene 5.) “The *sem*-priest.”

“The Beloved Son (*sꜣ mr-f*).”

“Introducing the Beloved Son into the interior of the tomb.”

*Cf.* SCHIAPARELLI, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 125–126.

The Beloved Son now takes the initiative, and is depicted opening the mouth and eyes of the mummy first with a chisel-like instrument (*mdtf-t*) with green blade and salmon-red handle, and later with a finger made of refined gold (shown as yellow). Legends:—

(Scene 6.) “The Beloved Son.”


“The first time with the *mdtf-t*<sup>3</sup> of iron. Pressing the mouth four times.”

(Scene 7.) “The Beloved Son.”

“The second time with the finger of refined gold. Pressing the mouth four times.”

*Cf.* SCHIAPARELLI, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 127 foll.

Next four white slab-like objects (*b-t*), probably chips of limestone, are held out towards the lips of the mummy. The longer texts seem to associate this action with the opening of the eyes and the moving of the mouth, but the next ceremony has to do with “fastening the jaws

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of  here is quite obscure to me.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps scene 1 should be numbered scene 2 and *vice versa*, against the general direction of the scenes. For the instrument *dua'-wēr*, not *sib-wēr*, see *Pyramid Texts*, 1329.

<sup>3</sup> A small lacuna for [ ] should be shown beneath *d*.

which were severed." I cannot help thinking that the white slabs must be symbolical of teeth, and that the action represents the giving of new teeth to the deceased. Headings:—

(Scene 8.) "The Beloved Son."

"Receiving the four slabs ('b-t), moving the mouth, . . . . opening the mouth, all at once (?)." *Cf.* SCHIAPARELLI, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 139 foll.

The tomb of Amenemhēt omits the following rites, which include the second sacrifice of an ox and the exit of the Beloved Son. Various priests now proceed to the clothing and anointing of the deceased. First we see, or should have seen had not the picture been hopelessly damaged, the *sem*-priest offering a particular kind of head-gear (*nms*) to the mummy:—

(Scene 9.) "The *sem*-priest."

" . . . .<sup>1</sup> there comes the *nms*-cloth with which he (*seil*. Horus) clad the gods."

*Cf.* SCHIAPARELLI, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 11.

This concludes the series of rites belonging to the lower register. At the beginning of the upper register a considerable number of vignettes must be lost; and since the first two that are preserved seem clearly out of place—they are those above described as Scenes 3 and 4—it is impossible to conjecture with any certainty the nature of those that have disappeared. There follows a much damaged representation of the giving of unguent:—

(Scene 10+x.) " . . . . [I have filled thy face] with unguent."

*Cf.* SCHIAPARELLI, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 42 foll.

The next scene upon the wall is one which in the manuscripts precedes that last described: a "courtier" presents linen garments to the deceased:—

(Scene 11+x.) "The courtier."

"Clothing with linen. Horus and the gods clothed him with (their) girdle(?)." *Cf.* SCHIAPARELLI, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 23 foll.

The tomb of Amenemhēt dispenses with all further consideration of the mummy's toilet, and passes quickly on to the banquet itself. The first item of this is the presentation of bread by the courtier:—

(Scene 12+x.) "The courtier."

"Presentation of bread of the Broad Hall of Rē."

*Cf.* SCHIAPARELLI, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 159.

The following vignette must have shown the offering of incense:—

(Scene 13+x.) "The prophet."

"Making [offering of incense?]; Horus [offers?] to thee < his > eye; its fragrance comes<sup>2</sup> to thee."


*Cf.* SCHIAPARELLI, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 163.


The *sem*-priest then brings a bowl of water:—

(Scene 14+x.) "The *sem*-priest."

"Bringing a bowl of water."

*Cf.* SCHIAPARELLI, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 166.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the signs  is totally obscure.

<sup>2</sup> The restoration of the beginning of the line is quite uncertain; it ended 



Last of all, after these humble preliminaries, comes the actual feast. Three officiants are here required: first of all a kneeling figure with bowls of wine or water in his hands; second the "*sem*-priest," who is shown in his characteristic pose pronouncing the funerary formula, "making an offering-which-the-King-gives"; and finally "the lector," whose rôle was doubtless merely that of a prompter to his companions. In front of the three men, and separating them from the mummy, is the *menu* of the banquet, a list of twenty-one traditional items that will be considered in detail in dealing with Pl. XIV, where a better-preserved example occurs.

The funeral service as represented in the tomb of Amenemhēt thus consists of a series of very simple and rational acts, the purification, revival, clothing, and feeding of the deceased. It will be seen later that a very similar ritual was prescribed for the daily use of the dead long after their burial; but there are differences which are easy to account for. On the actual day of burial the mechanism of the funerary cult had to be set in motion for the first time, and so it is not unnatural to find special stress laid upon the operations giving the dead man the power of enjoying such benefits as his pious relatives might think fit to bestow upon him. In the subsequent daily routine of the funerary cult there was at least sometimes a rapid renewal of the ceremony of Opening the Mouth, but it was then of little moment, as the deceased could be assumed to be fully accustomed by now to the use of his restored faculties.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the rites that have been described are alluded to in the stelae quoted in the last section. There now remained nothing to be done but to suffer the mummy "to enter into the land that is given by the King in the mortuary-chamber of the West." We may postulate a final rite of censuring and lustration before the door of the burial-chamber was finally closed, and before the shaft by which the mummy had been lowered was filled with sand.<sup>2</sup>

SOUTH WALL, } NORTH WALL, }	WEST END: SCENES OF OFFERING.	{ Pls. X and XXXI. { PL. XIV.
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The extreme western part of both north and south walls was occupied by exactly symmetrical scenes—Amenemhēt and his wife seated before rich offerings presented to them by a son in the leopard-skin, who raises his arm to pronounce the customary formula. This arrangement can be paralleled from other tombs and is by no means unsuitable. It has been seen that the culminating moment of the burial rites was the meal accorded to the deceased for the first time after a long period of death-like inertia. It is a similar meal, more elaborately and decoratively treated, with which the paintings of the Passage conclude on either hand. The details are here singularly beautiful in their execution, the coloured hieroglyphs being the finest found in the tomb. Both scenes have suffered much, in addition to the normal wilful destruction of the figure of the offerer, and for this reason only the northern one has been traced and reproduced in the plates; the inscriptions of the other are given partly in Pl. X and partly in Pl. XXXI.

<sup>1</sup> This point has been well brought out by M. Maspero in his famous essay on the table of offerings, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*, vol. 6, p. 351.

<sup>2</sup> See the unconventional drawing on a Theban limestone chip, published by me *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. 35 (1913), p. 229.

The paintings call for but little comment. Husband and wife were seated together side by side on one chair, but the Egyptian artist in rendering this naturally placed Amenemhēt in front of his spouse. The effect of this in reversing the picture is, of course, that whereas on the south wall Baktamūn has her right arm around her husband's neck, on the north wall it is her left arm. The offerings present but few peculiarities; in Pl. XIV the stand for wine-jars with the censer underneath should be noted. The inscriptions read as follows:—

Over Amenemhēt and his wife:—

(S. wall, Pl. XXXI.)<sup>1</sup> “The steward who counts the people, the vigilant superintendent, beloved of his lord, the practical one who performs what he (*scil.* his lord) says, the scribe who reckons the grain, Amenemhēt. The daughter of his sister, the mistress of a house, Baktamūn, justified before the great god.”

(N. wall, Pl. XIV.)<sup>2</sup> “The steward of the Vizier, who acts as controller over all his possessions, the scribe who reckons the grain of Amūn, the chief of the weavers, Amenemhēt. The daughter of his sister, the mistress of a house, Baktamūn, justified before the great god.”

Over the offerer:—

(S. wall, Pl. X.) “An offering-which-the-King-gives to Gēb and to the Ennead of the palace of Upper Egypt, a thousand of incense and unguent, a thousand of cloth and thread, a thousand of vegetables . . . .; his son beloved of him, Amenhotpe, justified.”

(N. wall, Pl. XIV.) “An offering-which-the-King-gives to Gēb and [to the Ennead] of the palace of Lower Egypt, a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen and geese, a thousand of all things that are offered or that grow; his son beloved of him, the scribe Amenemhēt, justified.”

Thus a different son is named on the two walls. It is interesting to note that on the south wall offerings are made to the Ennead of Upper Egypt, while on the north wall to the Ennead of Lower Egypt; this is an instructive instance of that keen sense of orientation to which sundry references have been made in earlier parts of this book.

The “shorter list of offerings” (see above, pp. 34, 61) is a stereotyped abridged edition of the longer list which will encounter us on the walls of the Shrine. It is perhaps not older than the early Middle Kingdom,<sup>3</sup> and comprises, so far as they are translatable, the following items: (1) water, two vessels; (2–5) loaves of various shapes and sizes; (6) two portions of roast meat; (7) wine; (8) two *špmt*-jugs of beer; then again (9) two vessels containing water. At this point is indicated (10) a recitation supposed to be made between the courses and beginning with the words, “Ah! fear . . . .” After this interruption the list of foods and drinks is resumed: (11) honey(?); (12) two red bowls of water; (13) natron; (14) a *umst*-vase of northern wine; (15) yet another portion of roast meat; (16 and 17) two joints bearing particular names; (18 and 19) two kinds of cake, the second being cut in two halves; (20) again two red bowls of water; and finally (21) libations and the burning of incense.

Such was the smaller *table d'hôte* dinner which was supposed to be served to the dead noble on the day of his burial. Even on that occasion the meal may have been curtailed or left to the imagination, but with that reservation we may perhaps classify these paintings and inscriptions as primarily commemorative in purpose; they had, however, other ends to serve, as will be seen from the following paragraphs.

<sup>1</sup> These titles have already been published, LEPSIUS, *Denkm. Textb.*, vol. III, p. 266; *Urkunden*, IV, 1051 (κ).

<sup>2</sup> See *Urkunden*, IV, 1050 (Δ).

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, I, 19.

NORTH WALL, CENTRE AND EAST END, UPPER REGISTERS: FURTHER ELABORATION OF THE  
SCENE OF OFFERING. (Pls. XV, XVI.)

The rites performed in front of the mummy (Pl. XVII) occupied only the lower third of this wall, leaving a considerable upper part free to be decorated in whatever manner the designer might think appropriate. He has seen fit to adorn it with an elaborate continuation of the scene of offering just described, in which not only numerous guests are depicted, but also musicians and a row of attendants carrying unguents.

The musicians<sup>1</sup> (Pl. XV) stand or sit as usual immediately in front of their lord and lady, from whom they are separated only by the figure of the offerer and by the provisions which he consecrates. In the upper row there are "the female singer Bāket" accompanying her own voice on the harp, a lutist Amenemhēt, and a woman playing the double-pipe who seemingly bears the curious name Ruiuresti (*Rw̄w-rsti*). The song sung by Bāket begins with the words:—

"Even as thou shinest forth, so shine forth the faces of Amen-rē,"

while Amenemhēt recalls another melody,

"A happy day, spending a happy morn."

Ruiuresti has also her own particular theme,

"Thou continuest to be great(?) everlastingly, thou art united with eternity."<sup>2</sup>

The description of the details of the musical instruments may be reserved for the writer of a special monograph on this topic; the way in which Bāket is depicted, however, calls for a few remarks. The open mouth is a quite unusual trait, and one which does not exhibit the lady's features under the most attractive aspect. Both the female musicians, like several of the serving-women in the scene, have pink complexions, whereas the lady guests and other serving-women have skins of the conventional yellow colour.

In the second register squatted a male harper, whose figure is now destroyed; his name Bak resembles curiously that of the lady harper in the upper row. Behind Bak we ought probably to supply in imagination three women clapping their hands together rhythmically, such as are shown in Pl. V. Over and beside these figures ran a continuous strophe,<sup>3</sup> as follows:—

"How happy is the temple of Amūn, even she that spendeth her days in festivity<sup>4</sup> with the king of the gods within her . . . .<sup>5</sup> She is like to a [woman] drunken,<sup>6</sup> who sitteth outside the chamber, with loosened hair(?)<sup>7</sup> and . . . . upon her beauteous [breast(?)], and she possesses . . . ."



Fragmentary as is this song, the comparison of the temple of Amūn rejoicing over its lord to a woman intoxicated is of interest as a new example of a characteristically Egyptian


<sup>1</sup> See *Brit. Mus.*, Add. MSS. 29,823, fol. 57 (Hay); published WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, vol. II, p. 234, no. 185 = ed. BIRCH, vol. I, p. 438, no. 210.










<sup>2</sup> These texts have been published already, *Urkunden*, IV, 1057 (p. 1, 3, 4). In the last quotation emend *w-k* for *w nb*.

<sup>3</sup> Published previously, *Urkunden*, IV, 1057 (p. 2 and 5), where the song is wrongly divided into two.

<sup>4</sup> The bottom of the harp must be allowed for in the damaged painting, and *hb* will be the end of this line; Sethe is here in error.

<sup>5</sup> The line began with , and I am tempted to read  to the right of this.

<sup>6</sup>  is exceedingly probable.

<sup>7</sup> Read              





around him to be deprived of this somewhat dubious luxury. The waitress in front of the foremost lady is about to tie round her neck a collar of flowers, saying as she does so:—

“Receive a garland for thy breast (*šnbt-t*) in the house of thy brother.”

Behind her is another girl, who is apparently bidding the lady to rejoice:—

“To thy *ka*, beloved . . . . mayest thou (?) rejoice [at] good cheer (?)”<sup>1</sup>

All the forms of hospitality here illustrated are the commonplaces of Theban feasts, and are depicted over and over again in the tombs of Gurnah; nowhere can they be seen more charmingly rendered than in the Tomb of the Engravers on the slope of the Khokhah hill (tomb no. 181).

The ladies in the second register are so symmetrically arranged below the men in the top row, that one is tempted to see their husbands in the latter. We are left in doubt as to whether the suffix “his” here in every case refers to Amenemhēt, though undoubtedly it does so where a daughter is mentioned. The names are as follows:—

“His beloved sister Amenemwaskhet, the justified.”

“His beloved daughter Sitamūn.”

“His beloved daughter Amenemhab.”

“His sister Iuy.”

“ . . . . . ”

“His sister Bāket.”


“His [sister] Tet[i].”

In the third register a long row of persons is seen, each of whom brings a sealed jar of some specified oil or perfume. These persons are not attendants in the most usual sense of the word, for they are mostly brothers (*i.e.* either real brothers or colleagues), sons or daughters of Amenemhēt. So far as the inscriptions are still preserved or legible they run as follows:—

(Pl. XV.) “ . . . . Si[amūn?], justified.”

“His beloved daughter Amenemhab, justified.”

“His brother Maryamūn, presenting (?) best-quality oil.”<sup>2</sup>

“His beloved son the scribe (?  [ . . . . Amūn ]”; brings “best-quality Libyan oil.”

“His sister Nofretari”; brings “olive-oil” (*bk*).

(Pl. XVI.) “His beloved son the scribe Amenemhēt”; brings “incense.”

“ . . . . . ”

“His son Amenemwaskhet.”


“His brother Shēre”; brings “ointment.”


“His brother, the scribe Amenhotpe”; brings “olive-oil” (*bk*).

Three others, of whom the second brings “oil for anointing,” and the third “fat . . . .”; remainder lost.





Overhead runs the inscription (Pls. XV–XVI)<sup>3</sup>:—

“[Bringing] . . . . [best-quality oil] of cedar, best-quality oil of Libya, incense, *tī-šps*, olive-oil, unguent and press-oil which comes from the two chambers . . . . (for thy use) in this<sup>4</sup> thy thousand years which thy

<sup>1</sup> Read ; these two texts published already, *Urkunden*, IV, 1058 (7 and 8).

<sup>2</sup> I thought to be able to read ??

<sup>3</sup> See *Urkunden*, IV, 1058–1059 (10). Under the lost beginning stands the word *sty*, “perfume,” which Sethe has wrongly joined to the song above.

<sup>4</sup> The signs  are corrected out of , so that the original reading probably was  

master Amūn has decreed for thee in thy house of the living, there being for thee life and there being for thee health and there being for thee justification; and thou hast enjoyment of music and song . . . . eternally.”<sup>1</sup>

The inscriptions of this wall have a considerable interest and suggest important problems. The presence of the two parallel scenes of offering on either wall at the inner end of the Passage was accounted for above by the fact that the burial service culminated in just such a meal supposed to be enjoyed by the deceased before he descended into the Netherworld, and from this point of view the character of these paintings was declared to be commemorative. This may have been the original intention of whoever first depicted this subject in this particular place, but we must not attribute to the Egyptian artist our own standards of logic, and it is probable that no very precise notion of the significance of the picture was ever formulated in his mind. The meal depicted was one such as the deceased had enjoyed or had wished to enjoy in his lifetime, such as he had hoped for on the day of burial, and such as by virtue of his posthumous cult or of pious prayers, or even of the very picture itself, he fancied he might expect again. All these possibilities may have been present or may have occurred consecutively to the mind of the designer of the tomb; or again, he may simply have wished to fill his space and have turned as a matter of course to this vital and familiar theme. With regard to a subject so trite we must not ask too many questions.

The continuation of this scene on the north wall, however, is less conventional, so far as its inscriptions are concerned, and here we find ourselves face to face with only two possibilities.<sup>2</sup> One possibility is that the scene is purely commemorative, and simply recalls, as a matter of interest, the sumptuous feasts at which the living Amenemhēt entertained his friends and relations. If this be the case, then we must admit that the author of the inscriptions has allowed himself a considerable license in the use of hyperbole. When a serving-man thus addresses a guest,

“To thy *ka* in the house of thy brother! Ye shall not cease from boon-companionship *eternally!*”

or when the descriptive text above the attendants tells of

“*This thy thousand years* which thy master Amūn has decreed for thee in thy house of the living . . . . and thou hast enjoyment of music and song . . . . *eternally,*”

it is just conceivable that these words may be exaggerations with which the givers of earthly feasts flattered themselves and complimented their guests; in the joy of the moment they imagined themselves as living a thousand years, all devoted to hospitality and good cheer.

This alternative cannot be rejected without due consideration, but most readers will, I think, incline to the second possibility which has now to be submitted to them. Is it not vastly more probable that these expressions apply not merely to the earthly banquet commemorated, but only to that banquet *as presented in the tomb-painting?* The tomb was looked upon as the dead noble’s “castle of eternity,” and might well, by the gracious decree of Amūn, be expected to endure a thousand years. Unless, therefore, some unforeseen catastrophe befel it, the scene showing Amenemhēt banqueting with his friends in his earthly home<sup>3</sup> might also be expected

<sup>1</sup> The line ends with the word , which is preserved at the extreme right end of the wall, but is not shown in the plates.

<sup>2</sup> There is nothing surprising in the fact that the continuation of an Egyptian scene should have a purpose different from, or wider than, that of the scene which it continues.

See above, p. 19, footnote 1, for the phrase *pr n 'nhw*.



to endure "eternally" and for "a thousand years." In other words, it is to the stereotyped picture that these expressions apply, and only through this picture to the revels depicted. The sentiment would, on this view, be closely akin to that expressed in the lovely lines of Keats, as he surveyed that

" . . . . . Attic shape! fair attitude! with brede  
Of marble men and maidens overwrought!"

Thus does Keats apostrophize the sculptured youth courting a sculptured damsel in his *Ode on a Grecian Urn*:—

"Fair youth, beneath the trees thou canst not leave  
Thy song, nor ever can those trees be bare;  
Bold lover, never, never canst thou kiss,  
Though winning near the goal—yet do not grieve;  
She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,  
For ever wilt thou love, and she be fair!"

As in the poem, so in the wall-painting: it is the depiction that lends permanence to the thing depicted. Yet it must not be overlooked that despite the identity of the sentiment, the spirit in which it is uttered must necessarily be very different in the two cases. What to the poet is but a graceful conceit was to the old Egyptian, with his superstitious and naïve mentality, a thing of more serious moment. We are taught by innumerable examples that in Egyptian belief realities, spoken words, and depicted images are jumbled together, confused, and identified in a way quite alien from our modern habits of thought. If, then, the alternative here envisaged be preferred, as I think it must be preferred, it will have to be admitted that the representation of this earthly feast upon the tomb-wall was intended mystically to ensure to Amenemhēt perpetual enjoyment of his banquet and of the society of his friends. And if, once again, this conclusion be accepted, then the inscriptions here discussed at length are of inestimable value for the controversy as to the meaning and purpose of tomb-paintings in general.<sup>1</sup>

#### WEST END: THE DOOR-FRAMING. (Pl. XXXI.)

The door-framing, painted with coloured hieroglyphs, displays the ordinary formulae:—

##### TOP RIGHT.

- (1) "Having honour with Geb, heir < of the gods >, the scribe Amenemhēt, justified."
- (2) "Having honour with Nephthys, sister of the god, the scribe Amenemhēt, justified."

##### TOP LEFT.

- (1) "Having honour with Osiris, the great god, the scribe Amenemhēt, justified."
- (2) "Having honour with Isis, mother of the god, the scribe Amenemhēt, justified."

##### RIGHT SIDE.

"An offering-which-the-King-gives to . . . . ., [the lord of] heaven, the great god . . . . ."

##### LEFT SIDE.

- (1) "An offering-which-the-King-gives to [Amen-rē], Lord [of the Thrones of the Two Lands] . . . . ."
- (2) "An offering-which-the-King-gives to Mā'et, mistress [of the gods] . . . . ."

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<sup>1</sup> This problem has been discussed in a more general way above, pp. 19–21.



The door-posts were inscribed with *hotp di nisut* formulae, the only divine name preserved being that of Ptah-Sokar. The name of Amenemhēt's mother, ". . . . [the lady of the house, Anentef (*sic*), justified," is preserved at the end of the outer left door-post (Pl. XXIX).

EAST WALL, ABOVE DOOR: SCENES OF OFFERING, MOURNERS, &c. (Pl. XXIV.)

The upper part of this wall is occupied from end to end with representations that are not easy to explain. At the two extremities Amenemhēt and his wife are seen seated before tables of offerings. On the left there is nothing very unusual about the latter, nor about the figures that are shown behind them. In the upper of the two registers a maid-servant offers wine drawn from five jars, alternately black and yellow, to the foremost of four ladies who squat in the accustomed manner; below, a man behind whom are large goblets with puzzling square objects upon them makes libation and burns incense, while three women, once probably preceded by a harper, keep time to some melody by clapping their hands. Above Amenemhēt and his wife are the words:—

"The scribe, reckoner of the grain of Amūn, Amenemhēt, justified; his wife, the mistress of a house, Bāket, justified."

Thus far there is nothing particularly remarkable about the scene, though we may not be able to account for the presence of a banqueting scene just in this position.

On the right, however, we find representations that are quite exceptional in character. The offerings in front of Amenemhēt and his wife, who are described with their usual titles, consist of an immense number of round white loaves piled up upon a black wooden table; under the table are four pots for wine or water. Probably intended to be viewed quite apart from this scene of offerings is the picture to the left of it. A white mummy with blue wig is seen lying under a red-and-yellow canopy, supported by slender papyrus columns, from which are suspended fluttering birds;<sup>1</sup> the couch is of the lion type, and displays not only the head and legs of the animal but also its tail; below are a yellow basket, a black mottled vase, a mirror, and a *kohl*-pot with pencil for pencilling the eyebrows. In front of the canopy is a man pouring libations and burning incense, and there are a number of women standing or squatting in attitudes indicative of grief. Not very frequently depicted is the gesture of the two women who violently throw their hair forward over their faces; students will, however, recollect the similar drawing from the tomb of Anena (no. 81) in Wilkinson's classical work.<sup>2</sup> One might search the Theban Necropolis in vain for an exact parallel to this scene, which is therefore of very considerable interest despite the crudity of its execution and the monotony of the colours. To what precise moment of the funerary ceremonies does it relate? Probably to the brief interval between the completion of the rites of embalming and the final burial celebrations. We do not know whether in this interval the mummy reposed at its own home, or whether the funeral procession usually started out from the place of embalmment; in the absence of positive evidence the former alternative appears the more probable.

<sup>1</sup> At El Amarna (see DAVIES, *El Amarna*, II, Pl. 32) are depicted capitals with birds hanging from them; this seems the nearest parallel available.

<sup>2</sup> See *Manners and Customs*, vol. II, p. 383, no. 492 = ed. BIRCH, vol. III, p. 428, no. 624.



EAST WALL, TO EACH SIDE OF DOOR, UNDERLAY: PREPARATION OF BEVERAGES,  
DISPLAY OF FUNERARY EQUIPMENT, &c. (Pl. XXVI.)

The two stelae on each side of the door, with which we shall subsequently have to deal, were an afterthought on the part of the designer of the tomb, and are superimposed on scenes of which traces have again become visible owing to the scaling away of the secondary coat of plaster. Mrs. Davies has, with painstaking skill, copied these traces and combined them into the whole that is shown on Pl. XXVI. The upper half of the plate exhibits the scenes on the south side, and the lower half those on the north. The picture of the two men playing draughts is by no means common in the Necropolis, and elsewhere occurs only in tombs of the Nineteenth Dynasty or later.<sup>1</sup> The 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead, it will be remembered, speaks of the game of draughts as one of the things that the dead man hoped to enjoy in the life to come. Here, however, the presence of the attendant with the fan does not favour the view that such a funereal game was in contemplation; I am at a loss to account for this scene in this position.

Below, men are seen pouring wine into jars; an attendant keeps cool a number of jars full to overflowing by fanning them; a somewhat similar representation occurs in the tiny tomb no. 176.<sup>2</sup> Whether the beverages here being prepared were destined for the consumption of the dead or living Amenemhēt depends, of course, on the interpretation of the scene of playing draughts above it.

Underlying the northern stele is a picture of the funerary equipment of the deceased, consisting of *menat*-necklaces, vases, a jar for oil, boxes, white rings probably of silver, and a large collar of gold in a basket. It is not easy to say in what way the female servant here depicted was engaged: she wears a diaphanous garment (pinkish-yellow) through which the yellow skin shows. In other tombs also (*e.g.* nos. 49, 85 and 96A) the funerary furniture is sometimes shown collected together, but as a rule it is being inspected by its owner.

EAST WALL, SOUTH SIDE: BIOGRAPHICAL STELE. (Pl. XXV.)

On either side of the door into the Shrine has been painted, in blue hieroglyphs, but only as a secondary addition, a biographical stele.<sup>3</sup> Both have suffered serious losses, but that on the south side contains a considerable number of lines of consecutive text.<sup>4</sup> Under the conventional symbols of the eyes and water-bowls is written in large characters the date:—

“Year 28 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperē, granted life, stability, and wealth, like Rē eternally,”

upon which follows the text proper in smaller hieroglyphs:—

<sup>1</sup> In tombs that are at present accessible, I know of it only in nos. 10, 36, 58, 158, 178.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.*, too, TYLOR, *Paheri* (Egypt Exploration Fund), Pl. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Biographical stelae on the east wall of the Shrine; *cf.* the tombs of Sennūfer (no. 97) and of the high-priest Amenemhēt (no. 99), both dating from the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>4</sup> Published entire by PIEHL, *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 21 (1883), pp. 131–132, and by SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1043–8; the first line with date alone, LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, III, Pl. 38, *f.* As a rule I adopt Sethe's excellent restorations without specially noting the fact; where I differ from his readings it is after carefully collating his published text with the original.

## LI. 1-2: INTRODUCTORY PRAYER.

(1) "An offering-which-the-King-gives to Amen-rē, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, in 'Elect of Places' (Karnak), and to the great Enncad which is in his<sup>1</sup> temple; also to Osiris in all his places and to the great Enncad which is in the Necropolis;<sup>2</sup> in order that they may grant offerings of bread and beer, oxen and geese, (2) and all things good and pure, cloth and thread, incense and ointment, what is given by heaven, what is created by earth, what is brought by the Nile from his cavern,<sup>3</sup> what goes up upon the altar of [Amen-rē, to the *ka* of] the scribe of the Vizier, Amemnehēt, justified, born of Antefo, justified."

Line 3: BEGINNING OF THE BIOGRAPHICAL PART.

(3) "The scribe Amenemhêt<sup>4</sup> says: I was a servant who served his master,<sup>5</sup> one capable, who performed what he said; he placed his complete estate<sup>6</sup> under my command, and every seal of his was under my control; I being vigilant<sup>7</sup> in accounting for his possessions, nor did I show neglect in superintending his constructions."<sup>8</sup>

## L1. 4-6: EULOGY OF THE VIZIER USER.

(4) "The overseer of the town and Vizier, User, did that which was praised by the living *ka* of the King day by day. He<sup>9</sup> caused Right to go up to its lord, which his Majesty loves at all seasons<sup>10</sup>; he being summoned every moment on account of all his excellent qualities."

(5) “The overseer of the town and Vizier, User, did that which all the gods<sup>11</sup> love, in performing the ordinances<sup>12</sup> and confirming the rules, in [making]<sup>13</sup> their temples, in improving their offerings, in distributing their offerings, and in performing for<sup>14</sup> them the Right that they love.”


(6) “The overseer of the town and Vizier, User, did what the upper and lower (classes of the) people love,<sup>15</sup> tending the poor as well as the rich, protecting the widow with no kindred,<sup>16</sup> sweetening the spirits of the venerable and aged<sup>17</sup>; he set the children<sup>18</sup> in the place of the fathers, and made everyone happy.”<sup>19</sup>

## LL. 7-12: WORKS CARRIED OUT BY AMENEMHËT AT USER'S BEHEST.

(7) "The scribe who reckons the grain, head of the weavers [of] Amnūn, [Amenemhêt, justified, says]:<sup>20</sup> The overseer of the town and Vizier, User, made many jewels for the Palace, of silver and gold, of

<sup>1</sup> The suffix *f* is fairly certain.


<sup>2</sup> Restore 

<sup>3</sup> Read , not as Sethe; traces of all the signs that are not enclosed in brackets. *Htp-f* is a well-known confusion for *tpht-f*.

<sup>4</sup> Without  $m^{\text{sc}}\text{-hrw}$ ; what falls beneath the  $t$  is the tail of  $m$ .

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* the Vizier User, who is hereafter referred to with the pronoun “he.”

6 (□) |  
x

7   $ip \quad ht-[f].$



<sup>8</sup> Note the rare, if not unique, abbreviation of 

<sup>9</sup> Read  $s^c r - [nf]$ .

<sup>10</sup> *Lit.* "at the two seasons," i.e. both by day and by night.

<sup>11</sup> Read  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \diagup & \diagdown \\ \diagdown & \diagup \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \diagup \\ \diagdown \end{smallmatrix} \right] \begin{smallmatrix} \diagup \\ \diagdown \end{smallmatrix}$

<sup>12</sup> Note that *irt hp* (there is no room for the plural strokes before *smu*) is to “keep laws,” not to “give” them, which is *dut hp*.

<sup>13</sup> Probably read , though  is not certain.

<sup>14</sup> Read  

15 Read  $\begin{bmatrix} \text{A} \\ \text{O} \\ \text{O} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{D} \\ \text{O} \end{bmatrix}$  (sic)

<sup>16</sup> *Hnw*, "kindred"; see my note, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, I, 24, footnote 6.

17 Read  18  19 Read ;  (not ) is for ; of  $n$  there is a trace

<sup>20</sup> The vertical columns at the beginning and end of these lines are to be repeated with every new line, a not uncommon device of writing at this period; so, too, on the northern stele.

lapis-lazuli, turquoise, and all manner of precious stones, vessels of silver [and of gold], of copper and of bronze, furniture<sup>1</sup> of ivory and ebony, acacia, and *mery*-wood, and he<sup>2</sup> praised the god for it. It was I who undertook [the work concerning it]."<sup>3</sup>



(8) "The scribe who reckons the grain, head of the weavers [of] Amūn, [Amenemhēt, justified, says]: The Vizier User made many statues for the Palace, out of silver and gold, copper and bronze, ebony and *mery*-wood,<sup>4</sup> and of all kinds of fine hard granite. There was given to [the fashioners thereof<sup>5</sup> ointment of the] flesh of the god,<sup>6</sup> serfs and fields . . . . [in(?)] every nome.<sup>7</sup> It was I who undertook [the work concerning it]."

(9) "The scribe who reckons the grain, head of the weavers [of] Amūn, [Amenemhēt, justified, says]: This noble [made for himself]<sup>8</sup> many statues of copper and bronze, and of all costly woods, and of [every kind of fine hard granite(?)]<sup>9</sup> and [their] place<sup>10</sup> was made to rest in the sanctuaries of the gods of Upper [and Lower Egypt]<sup>11</sup> . . . . cedars of the best of the terraces(??)<sup>12</sup> in front of . . . . It was I who undertook [the work concerning it]."


(10) "The scribe who reckons the grain, head of the weavers [of] Amūn, [Amenemhēt, justified, says]: This noble [made for himself a very great and beautiful garden]<sup>13</sup> on the west of the Southern City, planted with all manner of beautiful [trees], and made to flourish with every kind of sweet tree,<sup>14</sup> its walls adorned with . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . It was I who undertook [the work concerning it]."

(11) "The scribe who reckons the grain, head of the weavers [of] Amūn, [Amenemhēt, justified, says]: This noble [made for [himself] a great and very splendid tomb on the steep hill of the Sacred Land,<sup>16</sup> made large<sup>17</sup> and its walls painted, a noble sarcophagus in . . . . . It was I who undertook [the work concerning it]."

(12) "The scribe who reckons the grain, head of the weavers [of] Amūn, [Amenemhēt, justified, says]: This noble made for himself a noble . . . . , [its] walls [of] brick,<sup>18</sup> . . . . of stone, inscribed<sup>19</sup> . . . . . It was I who undertook [the work concerning it]."

A large number of lines are lost, perhaps twenty or more. In the right-hand bottom corner are the ends of the two last lines, as follows: (1)  and (2) . Very possibly the stele may have concluded with a pious wish that Amenemhēt's achievements might be remembered to all eternity.

<sup>1</sup> Read 

<sup>2</sup> Read 


<sup>3</sup> Restore with Sethe: 



<sup>4</sup> Read 


<sup>5</sup> Read apparently 

<sup>6</sup> Emend [*mrh-t nt*] *h'w ntr* or the like, i.e. ointment such as the King used.

<sup>7</sup> Restore 


<sup>8</sup> Read , as is suggested by l. 11.


<sup>9</sup> Restore *m*  as in l. 8;  seems fairly certain, and there are slight traces of several other signs.


<sup>10</sup> Read , a clear trace of *n* remaining.

<sup>11</sup> Read 

<sup>12</sup> The traces suggest 

<sup>13</sup> Restore with Sethe: 


<sup>14</sup> Read 

<sup>15</sup> Not  as Sethe proposed.

<sup>16</sup> User has two tombs in the Theban Necropolis, one high up on the side of the hill of Sheikh Abd el Gurnah (no. 61), and another still finer one, with a long panelled façade, some distance below (no. 131).

<sup>17</sup> 

<sup>18</sup> Restore 

<sup>19</sup>  certain.



## EAST WALL, NORTH SIDE: SECOND BIOGRAPHICAL STELE. (Pl. XXIX.)

Corresponding to the stele on the south side of the door, a second stele of very similar appearance has been painted on its north side.<sup>1</sup> In order to enhance the symmetrical arrangement here sought, care was taken to make the hieroglyphs run in each case away from the centre of the room and towards its corners, so that in the northern stele the lines read from right to left instead of from left to right as in the southern stele. Of the northern stele extremely little now remains, but for completeness' sake a hand-copy of what is still visible has been given in Pl. XXIX. At the top there are the same symbols as opposite, and there was likewise also a regnal date. Then came the orthodox formula of offering, here possibly on behalf of Bāket, the wife of Amenemhēt, as well as on his behalf. In l. 5 there was perhaps once the indication of the geographical limits of the countries whence tribute was paid into the Exchequer in the time of the Vizier User. Farther on, Amenemhēt described his services done "in the presence of the overseer of the town and Vizier, User, wherein I did nothing wrong"; a few isolated words in this long passage suggest that it dealt *inter alia* with the finances of the temples and the celebration of religious feasts (ll. 7-17). Virtue met with its due reward, for in l. 19 Amenemhēt records that someone "enriched me" (*sikr-n wi*), and the fear of envious criticism may have led him on to expatiate on his own merits; he seems to have "[taught] the ignorant to know" (l. 22) and "never to have swerved" from his master's side (l. 23). Between ll. 30-33 there seem again to have been allusions to religious ceremonies, ending perhaps (l. 34) in an appeal to priests and others able to read to pronounce a prayer on his behalf. The stele ended with a description of Amenemhēt's death and burial; he was embalmed (l. 47) "in the place of embalming of the Beautiful House" (*pr-nfr*), which we know from other sources to have been the name of the *atelier* where funeral preparations were made,<sup>2</sup> and at last (l. 48) he "rested in the Necropolis" of Sheikh Abd el Gurnah, as befitted a man of his importance and wealth.

SOUTH WALL, UPPER HALF. }	THE DAILY CULT OF THE DEAD. {	Pl. XVIII.
NORTH WALL, UPPER HALF. }		Pls. XXI, XXII(A).

The shrine was to the tomb what the sanctuary was to the temple—the place where living men, either in person or through the medium of a qualified agent or priest, could hold communion with an adored being belonging to another world. Both shrine and sanctuary again may be compared with the domestic chambers in an earthly home; indeed, the Egyptians themselves were responsible for this comparison, for they called their temples the "houses of the god" (𓂏𓏏𓏏), and their tombs the "houses of the double" (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏).<sup>3</sup> Following up the same idea, they gave to the higher grades of priests in the temples the designation of 𓂏𓏏𓏏𓏏 "servants of the god," and to the funerary priests who officiated in the tombs the designation of 𓂏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 "servants

<sup>1</sup> A few words from this are given in *Urkunden*, IV, 1048-9.

<sup>2</sup> For *pr-nfr*, see the demotic references, Möller, *Totenpapyrus Rhind*, p. 19\*, no. 118; also earlier, e.g. *Louvre*, C 15; *Siut*, V, 20.

<sup>3</sup> It has recently been made probable that the *hst-k* originally had a more restricted sense, and signified the *serdab*, or walled-up chamber for statues near the cult-room; see Junker, *Vorbericht über die zweite Grabung bei den Pyramiden*, p. 12, in *Anzeiger d. phil.-hist. Kl. d. Kais. Akad.*, Jhrg. 1913, no. xiv. The argument put forward in the text is not essentially affected by this restriction of meaning, of which, moreover, sight was later lost.

of the double" or *ka*; the word  $\int$  *ham* which enters into the composition of these expressions is that generally used for domestic service.

The triple parallelism that we find here springs from a fundamental conception pervading all Egyptian religious observances, namely the conception of all existence, whether human, sepulchral, or divine, as subject to the same physical needs and requiring the same kinds of care and attention. Gods, dead, and men were but as three species of the genus *anthropos*, all of them creatures of similar habits and appetites. Their principal wants were clothing and food, and in the rituals of the temples and of the tombs, just as in the routine of earthly households, everything else was subordinated to the satisfaction of these requirements.<sup>1</sup>

But the gods and the dead, unlike living men, were beings whose existence was of a supernatural kind. They lived indeed, but only in an unreal, uncanny way; and for this reason no services were thought able to benefit them unless performed in a traditionally prescribed and mysterious manner; in other words, their service was of the nature of ritual, the combination of imitative acts performed (manual rites) and words of power spoken (verbal rites). The latter usually consisted of some appropriate reference to the Osirian myth, the officiant being identified with Horus and the god or dead man whom he served with Osiris, the father of Horus.

Beside the close resemblances, however, that existed between the ritual of the temples<sup>2</sup> and that of the tombs, there also were differences. The giving of clothing, food, and drink, and the purifications that corresponded to the ablutions always practised by the Egyptians before meals, were not the only ceremonies by which the gods were honoured. The presentation of the figure of Mā'et, the Goddess of Right ( $\int$ ), was restricted to the temple ritual only, for it was the gods alone who exacted right-dealing of men. Other differences arose from circumstances of another kind. Those gods who had a cult of their own were continuously guarded and attended by a priesthood; thus it was possible for a costly image of the deity, to all intents and purposes identical with the deity himself, to be kept in a naos in the sanctuary. The daily rites could therefore be performed in the very presence of the god; and important preliminary ceremonies consisted accordingly in the breaking of the seals and the opening of the doors of the naos, and subsequently in closing and re-sealing the same. No such ceremonies appear in the funerary cult, for the constant danger of spoliation to which the mummy was exposed necessitated its being hidden away out of reach of human interference, at the bottom of a deep and inaccessible shaft. In the shrine or cult-room of the tombs the dead man was thus not actually present, and the ritual was performed in front of an imitation doorway (technically known as the false door),<sup>3</sup> through which the spirit of the deceased was imagined to appear when summoned to do so by the voice of the offerer. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, and so for example in the tomb of Amenemhēt, the false door, which was always in the west wall of the cult-room, was often replaced by a niche with statues.

The above remarks will serve as an introduction to the scenes which have next to be examined, and which adorn the walls to right and left of the niche with statues just mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> Nor did the logic of the Egyptians end here; in mastabas of the Second Dynasty, found by Mr. Quibell at Sakkarah, there were even privies for the use of the dead.

<sup>2</sup> For the daily ritual of the temples, see MORET, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte*, Paris, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> An altar, or table of offerings, stood in front of the false door; see at Thebes the tomb of Menna (no. 69), in which the altar has been replaced in its original position.



In accordance with ancient custom these scenes, which represent the daily ritual supposed to be performed on Amenemhēt's behalf in that very place, are represented in almost exact duplicate on the two walls.<sup>1</sup> The mode of depiction has so much in common with that of an ordinary commemorative banqueting scene, that it is no easy matter to keep the two apart. This point has been dealt with fully in a previous section,<sup>2</sup> to which the reader is requested to refer.

The daily ritual occupies only the higher registers; the lower rows deal with some more special ceremonies which were performed on certain calendrical feast-days. At the west end of each wall were seen Amenemhēt and his wife, described by their usual titles, and seated before the ever-sumptuous meal which was the rightful lot of personages of their importance; on the southern wall these figures are now destroyed, but they must have resembled in all respects those on the northern wall, which also are damaged (Pl. XXII[A]). At the opposite eastern extremity of each wall is the life-size figure of a son of Amenemhēt, clad in the leopard-skin and raising his arm with the usual sacrificial gesture; on the north wall the superscription reads:—

“Making the offering-which-the-King-gives (*ḥtp-dī-nīswt*). Recitation four times: Pure! pure! His son, beloved of his desire, Amenemwaskhet.”

The same text may be read on the south wall, save that here a different son of Amenemhēt, named Useramūn, is depicted.

The intermediate space is occupied with tabular lists of offerings. Before considering these and the representations immediately below them, we must turn our attention to the row of relatives which on each wall forms the central register. In most pictures of funerary banquets we find the children and nearest kinsmen of the deceased gathered around him, for their presence was regarded as indispensable to the true enjoyment of the meal.<sup>3</sup> Of the two very similar rows of persons, that on the south wall (Pl. XVIII) is nearly intact. Here we see first of all Amenemhēt's parents, Dhutmōse and Antef, seated on chairs as became their venerable station. Squatting behind them on mats are the four sons of Amenemhēt, the scribes Amenemhēt and Amenhotpe, and the two others Useramūn and Amenemwaskhet without title; then come the daughters Sitamūn and Amenemhab, and lastly a “sister” Nofretari. It may be remarked in passing that the wigs of the men are blue, those of the women, who are yellow-skinned, black.

The tabular lists of offerings on the two walls, to which we now return, show points of difference: both are extracts of a comprehensive list<sup>4</sup> which had received a final stereotyped form as early as the Fifth Dynasty. Strictly speaking it is no mere *menu*, but rather the

<sup>1</sup> Examples:—Old Kingdom: VON BISSING, *Gennikai*, II, Pls. 16–24 and 27–33; DAVIES, *Ptahhetep*, II, Pls. 24 and 34; MURRAY, *Sagqara Mastabas*, I, Pls. 21 and 23; DAVIES, *Deir el Gebrāwi*, I, Pls. 17 and 19; also in the Fourth Dynasty there are on the north and south walls similar, but not identical, scenes of funerary offerings, e.g. in the tomb of Nesutnūfer at Gizeh; see JUNKER, *Vorbericht*, pp. 21 and 24. Middle Kingdom: NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pls. 19 and 20; GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siut*, Pls. 1 and 2; Thebes, the tomb of Antefoker (no. 60). For the Eighteenth Dynasty the best example is the mortuary temple of Queen Hatshepsowet; see NAVILLE, *Deir el Bahari*, Pls. 109 and 112. No other exact parallels can be quoted from the private tombs, but nos. 84 and 92 have somewhat similar scenes.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 38–40.

<sup>3</sup> See among the religious texts published by M. Lacau (*Textes religieux*, I, no. 2) a spell for “uniting the household of a man to him in the Necropolis.”

<sup>4</sup> It is often called the “longer list of offerings,” to distinguish it from a derivative shorter list that has already been met with (see above, p. 62) in the tomb of Amenemhēt.



summary of a long series of rites of which most have as their purpose the presentation of some offering of food or drink. We have in fact here before us a *resumé* of the daily ritual of offering as it was celebrated in the funerary temples of the Pharaohs of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> In the tabular version, for which our oldest complete examples are certain private tombs of the Fifth Dynasty at Sakkarah, only the gestures of the priest or the nature of the offering are named; the verbal rites, or the words recited during the performance of these manual rites, are set forth at length in the Pyramid Texts, as the ancient religious texts found inscribed on the walls of the inner chambers of the pyramids of certain Fifth and Sixth Dynasty kings are called.<sup>2</sup> In order to obtain a correct notion of this time-honoured ritual, which retained its traditional sanctity down to the very close of the Pharaonic period, it will be well to ignore almost completely the garbled and incomplete extracts in the tomb of Amenemhēt, and to concentrate our attention on the more ancient originals from which they are derived.

Sir Gaston Maspero has brilliantly shown that the fixed order of the items is due to a dramatic idea or development which runs like a thread through the whole ritual.<sup>3</sup> It is an earthly banquet which served as the model, together with all the preparations and preliminaries that attended the same. The ritual celebrated in the cult-chamber began with lustrations (*sḥt*), which symbolized the washing of hands and face usual among the Egyptians before sitting down to table.<sup>4</sup> After this followed a pair of associated rites, namely fumigation by means of burnt incense (*sntr ht*, "making divine the fire") and the pouring of cold water (*dlt kbh*, "giving cool streams"); the purpose of these vaguely mimetic actions was to restore to the withered and lifeless corpse its natural moisture and odour.<sup>5</sup> Next came a brief recapitulation of the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth," which, as performed at length on the day of burial, aimed at restoring to the dead man the use of his organs and senses.<sup>6</sup> So completely had this important ceremony been observed at the actual funeral, that its daily repetition was an almost unnecessary precaution; and in fact it is here reduced to a mere passing allusion, an imitative movement made with the mystic instrument called the *pesheskaf*, accompanied by the recitation of an appropriate formula.<sup>7</sup> Then followed a small repast, a *petit déjeuner* as it were,<sup>8</sup> sufficient to

<sup>1</sup> It will be recalled that the hunting scenes in the private tombs similarly originated in the funerary temples of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty at Abusir; see above, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Latest and best edition, SETHE, *Pyramidentexte*, Leipzig, 1908.

<sup>3</sup> MASPERO, *La table des offrandes des tombeaux égyptiens*, originally published *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, vol. 35 (1897), pp. 275-330; vol. 36, pp. 1-19; reprinted *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, vol. VI, pp. 321-405. See, too, the commentary in DÜMICHEN, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, vol. I, pp. 13-43. The individual items in the tabular list are often untranslatable; detailed studies will be found in MURRAY, *Sakkara Mastabas*, I, pp. 36-40, and VON BISSING, *Mastaba des Gemnikai*, II, pp. 37-40 (by Max Bollacher). A compilation from the above sources is BUDGE, *The Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, London, 1909.

<sup>4</sup> On the earliest stelae (e.g. the Barracco stele quoted below, p. 84; MURRAY, *Sakkara Mastabas*, I, Pl. i) this rite is more specifically named "hand-washing." Particular care must be taken to distinguish it from the adjacent rite called *kbh*, the purpose of which was quite different.

<sup>5</sup> This point has been excellently brought out by BLACKMAN, *The Significance of Incense and Libations*, in *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 50 (1912), pp. 69-75; the evidence of the Pyramid Texts is here indisputable.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 57-9.

<sup>7</sup> See in our tomb, Pl. XVIII, entry 6; Pl. XXI, entry 7.

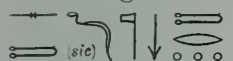
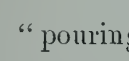
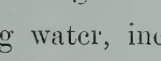
<sup>8</sup> I pass somewhat rapidly over this small preliminary meal, which was introduced, like the later one, by a reference to the "offering of the King." It is a secondary development, found first in the pyramid of Unis (*Pyr.*, 34-40), and probably owes its existence to the fusion of two lists. The earlier tabular lists jump straight from the entries of fumigation and water-pouring to the enumeration of the oils; see MURRAY, *Sakkara Mastabas*, I, Pl. 19, &c.



fortify the deceased for the elaborate toilet that he had now to undergo. Of this the principal features were the use of the seven sacred oils, the painting of eye-lids and eye-brows, and the receiving of napkins.<sup>1</sup> The pyramids of Unis and Teti omit all reference to the clothing and full investiture of the deceased, and for this our only authority is the pyramid of Phiopi II. Probably these rites were reserved for special feast-days, when a change of apparel seemed to be called for by the importance of the occasion.


After these preliminaries the preparations for the feast began in real earnest; the table was brought and placed before the false door. The psychological moment has now arrived. With arm uplifted the officiating priest announces the presentation of the "offering of the King" (*hṭp nṯwt*), and calls upon the dead man to sit down and partake thereof.<sup>2</sup> The precise reason why the funerary offerings are described as a gift of the King is a matter much controverted; but whatever may be the explanation, it is well established that the announcement of that gift—"an offering which the King gives" (*hṭp dī nṯwt*, or, to give it a vocalized form, *hotp dī nṯwt*)—early became the conventional signal for the beginning of the meal.<sup>3</sup> The deceased now passed in spiritual presence out through the false door, and assumed his seat in front of the table of offerings, here to enjoy whatever dainties might in turn be placed before him.

With the enumeration of these the remainder of the tabular list of offerings is occupied. We are now in a position to grasp the full significance of the scene which accompanies it in the tomb of Amenemhēt. This scene represents at once the culmination and the consummation of the daily ritual that was supposed to be celebrated in the Shrine. It is important to note that the figures of Amenemhēt and his wife are shown as near as possible to the niche where their spiritual forms were imagined to appear; that the piled-up dainties in the picture are immediately opposite the spot where the actual altar must once have stood; and finally, that both the position and the gesture of the son who is shown in the act of pronouncing the *hotp dī nṯwt* formula doubtless agree closely with those of the priest who in reality was wont to officiate in the tomb.

The smaller figures immediately below the tabular list correspond in like manner to various rites of greater or less importance that are mentioned therein.<sup>4</sup> The details of the south wall (Pl. XVIII) here differ slightly from those of the north wall (Pl. XXI), and being more complete than the latter may be fitly studied first. On the right we see a "lector" pouring water into a bowl which a second man, kneeling, holds in front of him; and next is shown a lector "making a burning of incense." These figures illustrate the rites that are first named in the list (Pl. XVIII,

 "pouring water, incense"; Pl. XXI,  "pouring,"  "fire and incense").

Three representations of a temple-priest ( *lit.* "servant of the god") now follow, the first holding out the foreleg of an ox (Pl. XXI, entry 44, ) and the second and third

different kinds of geese (Pl. XXI, entry 51, ). A "lector" is next shown pronouncing the funerary invocation, and probably represents the priestly substitute on whose shoulders the

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. XVIII, entries 25-33; Pl. XXI, entries 21-26.



<sup>2</sup> See Pl. XVIII, entries 36 to 38; Pl. XXI, entries 30 to 32. The ancient texts give *hṭp nṯwt*, "an offering of the King," instead of *hṭp dī nṯwt*, "an offering which the King gives."

<sup>3</sup> For further discussion of this point, see Excursus I, below, pp. 79-92.

<sup>4</sup> For a collection of Old Kingdom parallels to these priestly figures, see von Bissing, *Mastaba des Gemnikai*, II, pp. 33-36.




duties of the sons of the deceased, as depicted in the larger figures on these walls, in practice usually fell. Last of all we behold a "lector" dragging a curious yellow brush-like object, and looking behind him as he walks; the rite here envisaged is known as the rite of "bringing the foot," and can be proved to be a terminal rite, or *rite de sortie*, the purpose of which was to rid the Shrine, the ceremonies over, of any malevolent demons or spirits that might have entered unobserved.

This last rite, which is also depicted on the north wall,<sup>1</sup> is not mentioned in the tabular list; nor is any specific mention made therein of two other representations found on the same wall, namely that of the "lector" reading from a large papyrus-roll, and that of three kneeling men, who are said "to make many glorifications." The former representation is simply that of the priest who read out the prescribed formulae, while others performed the manual rites; the second perhaps refers to some psalms or songs of praise, that may have been impromptu or informal parts of the ceremony. The gesture of the three kneeling men recalls the determinative of the word  "jubilation," often used of the reverent joy with which a god was greeted. In the shorter list of offerings, which is obviously a variant of the longer one, an entry  with the same determinative is regularly found; this appears to indicate a hymn beginning with the two words "Ah, fear . . . ."<sup>2</sup>

It is highly probable that the elaborate liturgical observances, set forth in the Pyramid Texts and summarized in the tabular lists of offerings, were daily practised at length in the funerary temples of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>3</sup> There are no definite grounds for disbelieving that the various meats and poultry specified, the vegetables and kinds of bread, the wine and the beer, were there actually presented in kind. The same confidence cannot be felt, however, with regard to the private tombs on the walls of which the tabular list is found inscribed, and we are here tempted to assume a cult of more modest and suitable proportions. It is certain that until the end of the Twelfth Dynasty the wealthier nobles had funerary priests or *ka*-servants of their own, and there is some probability, therefore, that the verbal portions of the original ritual were daily recited entire and without omissions in their cult-chambers, though the material offerings may in many cases have been lacking. On the other hand it is equally possible that the *ka*-servants may often have contented themselves with a mumbled repetition of the *hotp di nisut* formula, and with momentarily placing upon the altar some offerings of meat and bread which they afterwards used for their own consumption.

The actual facts that corresponded to the representation on the walls of the private tombs are thus difficult to ascertain; and even such scanty evidence as bears upon the question has not as yet been collected or utilized. It is impossible here to enter upon a detailed discussion of this problem, but one point that seems to emerge from a consideration of the pictures in the tomb of Amenemhēt must be submitted for further consideration. No reference whatever is made, in the inscriptions that accompany the wall-paintings, to the *ka*-servants who play

<sup>1</sup> The hieroglyphs  "bringing the foot" here stand beside this figure, as on the south wall (Pl. XVIII), but have been omitted by error in Pl. XXI.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Fragments of the longer list of offerings have been found inscribed on their walls; see BORCHARDT, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, vol. II, Pl. 63; *Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefererkere*, p. 30; *Grabdenkmal des Königs Neuserre*, p. 83.



so important a rôle in the funerary cult of the Old and Middle Kingdoms.<sup>1</sup> Here on the other hand, we find not only the  $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$  "lector" employed, but also the  $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$  "servant of the god," that is to say, a regular professional priest belonging to the local temple. Now we know, from the inscriptions of a tomb at Siut and elsewhere, that the nobles of the Twelfth Dynasty were in the habit of making contracts with the local priesthood to supply portions of the temple-offerings to their *ka*-servants, in order that these again might use them for their funerary cult. It would certainly have been a simplification of affairs if the carrying out of such contracts were left wholly in the hands of the local priesthood, who would thus themselves, doubtless in return for due consideration, perform the duties that were hitherto assigned to the *ka*-priests. Only on this assumption does it seem possible to explain the presence of a temple-priest in the tomb, and only on this assumption do we find a reason for the silence of the inscriptions as to the *ka*-servants. We may conclude, therefore, as a provisional hypothesis, that Amenemhēt had no funerary priest of his own, but that his funerary cult, such as it may have been, was performed daily or periodically by a member of the priesthood of Amūn, with whom he in life had made some arrangement.<sup>2</sup>

## EXCURSUS I.

THE MEANING OF THE FORMULA  $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$  *ḥtp di nṣwt (ḥotp di nṣut)*.


























If the preceding paragraphs have fulfilled their purpose, they will have made it clear that the scene representing the deceased seated in front of his table of offerings illustrates the culminating moment in an elaborate daily ritual as it presented itself to the imaginative eye of an Egyptian draughtsman. The same scene is found on the countless small stelae that the cemeteries of the Middle Kingdom and later invariably yield; and almost everywhere it is accompanied by a hieroglyphic formula beginning with the words:  $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ . This formula, known as the Formula of Offerings, and usually, though wrongly, transcribed *suten di hotep* with the rendering "May the King give an offering," encounters us everywhere in the Theban tombs of the New Kingdom; not only does it appear above the head of the maker of offerings, but it serves as adornment for the ceilings and door-framings—wherever, in fact, an ornamental hieroglyphic inscription was required. Such being the case, the investigation into its meaning could not be shirked in the introductory volume of our series, tempting as it was to avoid a problem so complex and thorny. Briefly stated, the task before us consists, first in determining why the funerary offerings, which might have been expected to concern no one except the deceased himself and the actual agents of his cult, were described as a gift of the King, and secondly in tracing the gradual development of the formula and its changes of meaning. Various scholars have made important contributions to the solution of this problem, among which those due to Sir GASTON MASPERO have certainly been the most useful; to the bibliography given in BUDGE, *Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, pp. 20–32, especially p. 31, must be added an article by H. R. HALL, *Proc. S. B. A.*, vol. 30 (1908), p. 6, and another, making some good points, by FARINA in *Sphinx*, vol. 18 (1914), pp. 71–76.





§ 1. *Philological.*


The variations in the writing of the formula are such as to render the order of the words and their grammatical structure a preliminary question of some difficulty. The most abbreviated writings, such as

<sup>1</sup> The word *ḥmw-kʿ*, "ka-servants," does occur in the damaged stele, Pl. XXIX, l. 34, but in an obscure context.

<sup>2</sup> The conclusion here suggested will, of course, have to be tested in other tombs; very possibly it was not at all universal.

 or , are open to the suspicion of owing the position of their individual elements to calligraphic considerations, and more confidence can therefore be reposed in the fuller spellings. The commonest form of all is undoubtedly  , in which *hṭp* precedes *dī*; and this order is confirmed by the variant  , LACAU, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, no. 28121, côté 4, the very abnormality of which renders it important, and by the demotic *hṭp-d-ns* aptly quoted by Farina after Griffith's indications in PETRIE, *Denderah*, p. 54. There is good evidence, too, where the word for "king" is replaced by the name of a god, as in  , *Pyr.*, 583;   , MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 118;  , CAPART, *Une Rue de Tombeaux*, Pl. 76, 94; though from time to time such contradictions as  , MAR., *op. cit.*, p. 130, are apt to create a doubt in our minds. Clearest of all are the rare cases in which the scribe has so far liberated himself from orthographic considerations as to place the divine name in its proper grammatical position *after* the words *hṭp dī*, such as   , *Pyr.*, 1264;   , *Pyr.*, 745; *cf.*, too, 1019; wherever the divine name stands first, it does so merely in order to satisfy a well-known rule of orthography, which demands that divine or royal names, and the words for king and god, should precede in writing (though not in pronunciation) other words with which they are closely associated. No instance with the word for "king" postponed seems to be forthcoming, unless it be the demotic writing quoted above; but the parallelism of phrases in the compound instance    , *Pyr.*, 806, may be taken to indicate that *hṭp dī nīswt*, *hṭp dī 'Inpw* should be read, and that the written sequence of the first words is due to orthographic considerations.

So much for the order of the words; their reading, grammatical relations, and meaning must next be discussed. The hieroglyphs for "king" were formerly read *suten*, but we now know that for this reading *nīswt* should be substituted; *nsw*, which is actually written out in one case quoted above, seems in spite of certain phonetic difficulties to be an early modification of *nīswt*; see SETHE in *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 49 (1911), pp. 21-34. There has been much difference of opinion as to the meaning of  *hṭp* (*hotp*), but latterly it seems to have been recognized that the choice lay between "favour" and "offering." In some cases the translation "offerings" appears to be quite appropriate, food-offerings being clearly intended; this is true for example wherever the phrase  is used in close connection with a scene of offering (see below, §§ 3-6), and almost always after the Old Kingdom. In the Eighteenth Dynasty the meaning of the phrase is so absolutely co-extensive with the idea of funerary offerings, that it is written in hieratic   (e.g. graffiti of Dyn. XVIII in the Theban tomb of Antefoker, no. 60), with the determinative of food. For all later periods therefore it would be ignoring an essential part of the connotation if we were not to translate "an offering-which-the-King-gives," and this accordingly is the rendering adopted in the present volume.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, evident, and in part demonstrable, that *hotp* literally means "satisfaction," "contentment," and refers to the feelings aroused by the presentation of the offerings. That such must be the case is clear from the fact that when a divine name is substituted for *nīswt*, the gift is often of a quite different kind, e.g. a goodly burial, power of locomotion in the Netherworld, &c.; and we even hear of a principedom being granted as a "satisfaction which the King gives" (see below, § 4). The rendering "favour" accepted by Griffith and Farina would seem to indicate the mental attitude of the giver rather than that of the receiver; perhaps "boon" would be nearest the mark.<sup>2</sup>




The remaining element  is obviously part of the common verb "to give." But what part? Since the entire phrase has to be read *hṭp dī nīswt*, it is impossible to translate optatively as Hall and Farina would have



<sup>1</sup> I should defend this course by referring to *hṭp-ntr*, which all Egyptologists are agreed in translating "divine offerings," though literally the meaning must be "satisfaction of the god," i.e. as caused by offerings.

<sup>2</sup> "Boon," of course, etymologically means something prayed for, but in common parlance I doubt whether this original sense is felt.






us believe. I doubt if a parallel could be found to such a violent inversion of the object without its being taken up later by a pronoun (*hṭp, dī nīswt sw*); anyhow, it has not been explained why the emphatic and indeed eccentric mode of parlance, "a boon may the King give," should have been substituted for "may the King give a boon," a far more natural order of the words. Moreover, a wish would be quite out of place in the positions on the monuments where the formula regularly occurs in the Old Kingdom; both on the bands of inscription around the false door and as a descriptive title accompanying the scene of the funerary feast a substantival expression is absolutely requisite. The only straightforward and grammatically plausible way of interpreting




 is to construe it as the relative form, an interpretation rendered probable by the sporadic variant  (*Pyr.*, 745; MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 88), and certain, as it would appear to me, by , *Pyr.*, 1019.<sup>1</sup>






The conclusions reached thus far are (1) that   is to be read *hṭp dī nīswt* or *hṭp dī nsw* in this order; and (2) that the correct translation is "a boon which the King gives," though later, when the content of the boon was exclusively offerings of food, it is more appropriate to render "an offering which the King gives."






## § 2. *The Formula as Acknowledgment of Funerary Benefits.*






In the complex structure of the false door, as well as elsewhere in the early mastabas, there were many surfaces that seemed to invite decoration with hieroglyphic inscriptions. Such surfaces were very often covered by enumerations of ranks and titles held by the deceased, and sometimes by the narrative of incidents in his career. Besides these there is found a third kind of inscription, which names certain benefits of a more or less funerary character which the dead man had received or hoped still to receive, and which he attributed to the favour of the King, of some god, or of both. For this purpose the set form of words employed was the formula *hṭp dī nīswt*, the name of a god being substituted for the word *nīswt*, "king," where required, as in






   "a boon which Anubis dwelling in the sacred land gives" (LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II,


















Pl. 5), or    "a boon which the great god gives" (MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 116). More frequent

than such simple varieties of the formula are those which combine the name of one or more gods with that of the King, as for example      "a boon which the King gives and a boon which Anubis

living in the sacred land gives."<sup>2</sup> The orthographic varieties of such formulae are very numerous, and no useful purpose would be served by collecting them; but it is important to observe that the repetition of the words *hṭp dī* is often avoided, either as a whole or in part, so that we obtain such variants as      "a boon which the King and Anubis dwelling in the divine booth give" (MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 88), or as

     "a boon which the King gives, and a boon which Anubis dwelling in the divine booth (gives)" (*op. cit.*, p. 125).

Whether simple or complex, the formula is usually completed by a sentence setting forth the nature of the benefit ascribed to the king or god. Among the multitude of these sentences there are but three really common types, each of course with many minor variations, as follows: (a) "burial"-type,     










   "a boon which the King and Anubis give), that he may be buried in the Necropolis in the Western Desert at a good old age";<sup>3</sup> (b) "hṭf"-type,              

<sup>1</sup> A new translation is that suggested by Sethe in BORCHARDT, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, vol. II, p. 96, "der König sei gnädig und gebe." Against this the variant *rdhw* seems decisive, and the relationship of *hṭp dī nīswt* to *hṭp nīswt* in the longer list of offerings is also important. Nor does a wish seem in place. And finally, the absence of an object to *dī* would often be very disturbing.

<sup>2</sup> There are a certain number of unequivocal examples of the simple formula with a god's name substituted for *nīswt*, but many such cases are cases where a *nīswt* + god formula has preceded, and which therefore may be regarded as continuations or parts of a complex formula.

<sup>3</sup> For the construction of the final words, see an article by Sottas in *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. 34 (1912), pp. 25-35.



  "(a boon, &c.), that he may march upon the goodly roads upon which the honoured ones march," *scil.* in the other world; (c) "offering"-type,        "(a boon, &c.), that offerings may go forth<sup>1</sup> for him at every festival and on every day." A *resumé* of a few hundred instances, gathered almost at random from the most accessible books, will show how the two parts of the formula are in different cases related to one another:—

(MARIETTE, *Mastabas*=M.M.; LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Pt. II=L.D.; CAPART, *Une rue de tombeaux*=C.; British Museum (registration numbers)=B.M.; *Aegyptische Inschriften aus . . . Berlin*=B. Numbers in italics are specially ancient, not later than early Fourth Dynasty.)

"Burial" (alone) is ascribed to—

Anubis (alone), B.M. 1168. 1170.

King + Anubis, L.D. 10. 11. 18. 19(*bis*). 34e. 34g. 38. 43; M.M. 88. 90. 115. 118. 133. 149. 173. 176. 201.

211. 230. 251. 265. 270. 291. 336. 341. 368. 407–8. 417. 422. 424. 427. 433. 435. 437. 439. 440. 441.

446; B.M. 1136. 1282. 1383; C. 11. 76. 94; B. 1108A. 1149. 7723. 11467. 11469. 11664. 11665. 13466.

King + Anubis + Osiris, M.M. 214; C. 94.

"*Hpf*" (alone) is ascribed to—

King (alone), M.M. 141.

Anubis (alone), M.M. 427.

Khant-amentiu (alone), M.M. 130. 149. 377

"The great god," M.M. 116.

Osiris, M.M. 173. 230. 336. 366; C. 76. 94; B. 1108A(v).

King + Anubis, M.M. 195. 278–9. 283. 393; C. 11; B.M. 1156.

King + Osiris, M.M. 368.

"Offerings" (alone) are ascribed to—

King (alone), L.D. 10. 25; M.M. 176. 198. 201; B.M. 535; B. 71. 11664.

Osiris (alone), M.M. 118. 149. 393. 403. 407. 422. 445.

Anubis (alone), L.D. 5; M.M. 130. 414–5. 446.

Khant-amentiu (alone), M.M. 230.

Anubis Khant-amentiu (alone), M.M. 336.

King + Anubis, L.D. 27; M.M. 150. 195. 225. 348. 349. 366. 367. 377; B. 1108A(IV). 1109. 1159. 7725. 9054.

King + Osiris, M.M. 283–4. 368. 417. 433. 502. 506; C. 11. 102; B. 7764. 7765.

King + Geb + Anubis, M.M. 136.

Burial + *hpf* are ascribed to—

King + Anubis, M.M. 160. 203. 247. 269. 295. 424; B.M. 1156.

Burial + offerings are ascribed to—

King + Anubis, L.D. 26. 37. 40; M.M. 108. 154. 203(*bis*). 247. 250. 283. 307–8. 547–8; B.M. 1212;

B. 1186. 7513. 11866.

King + Anubis + Osiris, M.M. 397. 432.






























*Hpf* + offerings are ascribed to—

Osiris (alone), M.M. 341.

Burial + *hpf* + offerings are ascribed to—

King + Anubis, M.M. 247. 291. 311. 495.

To the above analysis may be added a few selected examples of less common types or exceptional cases, drawn partly from mastabas of the Old Kingdom, and partly from the Pyramid Texts. Referring to offerings:

            "a boon which Anubis dwelling among the Westerners gives— thousands for thee of bread," &c. (*Pyr.*, 745);                  "a boon which

<sup>1</sup> The meaning and origin of the phrase *pwt-hrw* has been much discussed; see the bibliography in BUDGE, *Ritual of Funerary Offerings*, pp. 25–28; a new treatment is none the less still required.

Anubis dwelling in the sacred land gives, that offerings may come forth thereby (brought) by all his villages” (LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, Pl. 5). Referring to the tomb: “a boon which the King gives, that he may go down into this his tomb, being of a good old age, with the great god” (MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 195); “a boon which the King gives, that may be given to him this his chamber to be buried therein when of a good old age as one honoured by the great god, lord of burial, from the treasury of the Residence” (*op. cit.*, p. 278, cf. pp. 283-4). Referring to old age: “a boon which the gods lords of the West give, in that they give to thee a good old age as one honoured with the great god” (CAPART, *op. cit.*, Pl. 11; the same thought differently expressed, MARIETTE, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 375, 377, 413). For a longer elaboration of the dead man’s hopes concerning the other world, cf. the following: “A boon which the King gives and Osiris dwelling in Busiris, that he may be accompanied by his *kas* to the pure places, that his hand may be taken by the great god, that he may be conducted upon the sacred ways of the West upon which the honoured ones walk” (MARIETTE, *op. cit.*, p. 433, cf. p. 413); further, “a boon which the King gives and Anubis dwelling in Sepa, that he may put to land, and cross the firmament, and that the Western Desert may give to him her hands in peace, in peace towards the great god” (*ibid.*). Continued power to see with the eyes is attributed to Geb in the Pyramid Texts: “a boon which Geb gives to Osiris; O Osiris Teti, Geb has given to thee thy eyes, that thou mayest be content with the eyes of this great one in thee” (*Pyr.*, 583). The right to traverse the whole of Egypt is accorded to the dead Pharaoh Phiopi in the following words: “O Phiopi, a boon that the King gives that thou mayest dwell in the Horite regions, and that thou mayest peregrinate the Sethite regions” (*Pyr.*, 770, cf. 218).

An examination of the examples quoted above, though they are by no means exhaustive, suffices to give a sufficiently accurate idea of the uses of the formula for decorative and monumental purposes. As here employed it has no ritualistic import, nor indeed any magical import beyond that always attaching to the written word in Ancient Egypt, particularly when that written word embodies a hope. It would appear that *the formula thus used is simply descriptive*, or, otherwise said, that it is on a par with the titles and autobiographical notices with which it interchanges. The benefits in view are funerary and similar benefits, and the benefactors are, besides the King, who seems to have exercised a wide control over the destinies of his subjects both in life and in death, a small company of sepulchral and chthonic deities—Osiris, the type of the defunct King, and ruler of the dead; Geb, god of the earth; Anubis and Khant-amentiu, who preside over burial rites.<sup>1</sup> Their respective functions are by no means clearly defined, though roughly it may be said that the King was most concerned with the giving of offerings, Anubis most with the performance of burial rites, and Osiris with the subsequent fate of the deceased. But Anubis and Osiris obtain the credit for the granting of offerings very little less often than the King, and conversely the King seems to have had power even to influence the fate of his nobles in the Beyond.

From a comparison of the various formulae it might perhaps be inferred that when reference is made to the granting of offerings by the King, no literal gift is meant, but merely a benevolent patronage or permission. Anubis, it might be argued, could not have been conceived of as literally a donor of offerings, and therefore, the same formula being used in the case of the King, there is no warrant for attributing a more literal meaning to the word *dî* when applied to him. This argument, however, is not sound; it errs by its appeal to strict logic where logic is out of place. Though we are unable to conceive of Anubis as literally the giver of offerings, the Egyptians may have done so; their inability to explain the exact manner of the gift would not make them doubt it. In speaking of a gift of the King, they will indubitably have been reminded of certain facts that justified their use of the phrase; we shall see below (§ 4) that the King often did make contributions towards the funerary offerings even of private individuals. It may fairly be doubted, however, whether this fact is sufficient of itself to account for the widespread use of the expression *hṭp dî nîswt* in such a connection, and




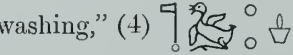
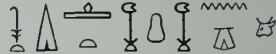
<sup>1</sup> We shall have to modify our old view of the word *wt* and the function of Anubis as god of embalment, for Prof. Elliot Smith has shown that the process of mummification was a custom of relatively late growth.



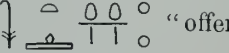
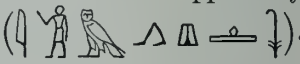


that use may well contain the reflexion of a more technical employment to be considered in the next sections, an employment in which *the word nṣwt was in early times never combined with or replaced by a divine name.*

### § 3. *The expression ḥtp dī nṣwt in the Ritual of Funerary Offerings.*

The formulae quoted in the last section prove that from an early date funerary offerings could, at given moments, be ascribed to the bounty of the King, but they do not prove that the idea of a royal gift underlay, or was contained in, the ritual of funerary offerings itself. At first sight the evidence seems to contradict such a supposition, for throughout the Old Kingdom the words *ḥtp dī nṣwt* are very seldom found in immediate connection with the scene of the funerary meal. This scene was usually depicted on a stele or a panel forming part of the false door; in the latter case it may be situated right in the midst of the bands of decorative *ḥtp dī nṣwt* formulae described in § 2, but there is not often reason for thinking that these were meant to qualify or describe the picture, which as a rule possesses its own inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions accompanying the scene of the funerary meal usually consist of a long enumeration of offerings, to which are added in very early times (a) references to the rites of "libation," "hand-washing" and "censing," and (b) lists of funerary furniture and the like (examples in WEILL, *Ile et IIIe Dynasties égyptiennes*, and MURRAY, *Saggarā Mastabas*, I, Pl. 1); later on, in the Fifth Dynasty, we find the stereotyped "longer list of offerings," but still the actual words *ḥtp dī nṣwt* are absent from the hieroglyphs in the immediate proximity of the picture.

This absence is undoubtedly to be accounted for by the fact that the scene of the funerary meal is no complete illustration of the entire funerary ritual, but merely a depiction of the effect or culmination of that ritual.<sup>2</sup> A very early instance demonstrates the fact that the idea of the royal gift was by no means foreign to the ritual of funerary offerings; on a stele of the Third Dynasty, in the Barracco Collection (WEILL, *op. cit.*, p. 240), outside the list of offerings and in obvious qualification of the picture of the funerary meal, are inscribed the names of the following rites: (1)  "a boon which the King gives," (2)  "purification," (3)  "hand-washing," (4)  "natron two grains; burning incense (*sntr lyt*).<sup>3</sup> Again, in the ancient tomb of Methen (LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, Pl. 4), under the representation of an *wt* "undertaker" who performs the rites of "opening the mouth, censing, and making glorifications," all known to belong to the ritual of funerary offerings, a priest is shown placing offerings on an altar with the inscription  "an offering which the King gives, thousands of loaves and thousands of *ng*-bulls."




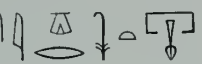
There exist also somewhat more elaborate illustrations of the ritual of funerary offerings, akin to those in the tomb of Amenemhēt, where the words  "a boon which the King gives" serve to describe a specific rite or complex of rites represented by a priest holding up his arm as though making an invocation (). The Old Kingdom examples of this are not numerous, but LEPSIUS, *op. cit.*, Pls. 19 and 25, both of the Fourth Dynasty, may be quoted. In the contemporary lists of offerings the entry  "offering of the King, two loaves" sometimes, though rarely, occurs (*op. cit.*, Pls. 10, 28), and the same entry has its fixed and immutable place in the "longer list of offerings" of the Fifth Dynasty. If we consult the complete *exposé* of this longer list in the Pyramid Texts, we shall find that the complex of rites which refer to the giving of the royal offering consists of several moments. The table (*ḥwt*) has been brought, and now the officiant apparently turns to one of his assistants with the words, "Come with the offering of the King"<sup>3</sup> (.

<sup>1</sup> As an exception one may quote *Brit. Mus.*, reg. no. 1223 = *Hierogl. Inscr.*, vol. I, Pl. 15; here the words "a boon-which-the-King-gives to Ka-uz-onkh," though incised on a special band, are so placed that they must almost of necessity be descriptive of the funerary meal depicted below them.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> An idea which might suggest itself is that *ḥtp nṣwt* here might mean "offerings for the King," and not "given by the King"; but this seems impossible, since we cannot do otherwise than bring the words *ḥtp nṣwt* in the list into connection with the words *ḥtp dī nṣwt*, which, as we have seen, sometimes accompany the vignettes illustrating the list.






This offering is symbolized by two circular white objects, as shown by the hieroglyphic entry . Maspero has advanced the hypothesis<sup>1</sup> that these depict the alabaster dishes on which the various dainties later enumerated were subsequently placed; far more probably, however, they represent the two half-cakes ( "offering-cake divided into two halves," see DÜMICHEN, *Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, I, Pl. 19, entry 16) which are elsewhere the first instalment of the royal offering.<sup>2</sup> Next is mentioned another twofold offering, which, to judge from the determinative, consisted of a kind of tray bearing upon it a jug and some loaves; this is called, for reasons that are not obvious, the "offering of the Broad Hall" ().<sup>3</sup> Lastly comes the invitation to the deceased to sit down and partake of the funerary offerings given by the King, the actual words being  "sit down now; the voice of the King goes forth" (*Pyr.*, 58-9).

From the foregoing analysis of the central portion of the funerary ritual it is clear that the words *hṭp dī nīswt*, in their technical sense, indicate a specific rite, the performance belonging to which consisted in the presentation of two halves of a cake, the gift of the King. But if this paltry offering were the beginning and the end of the royal contribution, it would be impossible to account for the importance that was attached to the "boon-which-the-King-gives"; and the words *pr hrw nīswt* in the next entry but one show that the matter by no means ended here. On the contrary, it is fairly evident at the outset, and will become still more so as we proceed with our discussion, that *all* the items that follow were part of the royal contribution, the *hṭp nīswt*. As result of this section, therefore, it has been established that the phrase *hṭp dī nīswt*, in its technical ritualistic employment, has two senses, a narrower one and a wider one which includes it: (1) in its narrower sense it is the description of a particular rite, wherein a cake divided into two halves is brought; (2) in its wider sense it designates the remainder of the ritual, from that moment onwards, as the "boon-which-the-King-gives."

#### § 4. *The words hṭp dī nīswt as referring to a real Gift of the King.*

The expression *hṭp dī nīswt* was not, however, restricted to the technical sense explained in the last section, but had a wider meaning as referring to various boons which it lay in the power of the King to confer. This has been seen already in § 2, where the expression was found to be employed not merely in reference to food-offerings, but also in reference to burial itself and various other things. A third mode of employment has to be considered here.

In one passage of quite exceptional character the rank of prince is said to have been given to one Zau  "as a boon-which-the-King-gives" (DAVIES, *Deir el Gebrāwi*, vol. II, Pl. 13). Elsewhere the gift thus qualified is of a more material kind. In a tomb at Sakkarah men are depicted carrying clothing, and the accompanying inscription describes them as  "bringing clothes belonging to the boon which the King gives" (CAPART, *op. cit.*, Pl. 63). Elsewhere butchers are seen "slaughtering a very large funeral bull  as a boon-which-the-King-gives" (LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, Pl. 35). A stele in New York is said itself to have been given to its owner as "a boon-which-the-King-gives" (see below, p. 91).


<sup>1</sup> MASPERO, *La Table des Offrandes* in *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*, vol. VI, p. 357. In this brilliant essay, which forms the basis and point of departure for every serious study of the ritual of funerary offerings, there are none the less many points with which I find myself unable to agree.

<sup>2</sup> The small preliminary meal inserted in the "longer list of offerings," which may originally have been independent of it (see above, p. 76, n. 8), also begins with a reference to the "gift of the King." In the text of Unis (*Pyr.*, 35) the manual performance indicated is the giving of an "offering-cake" (*p:t nt wdn*), while the verbal instructions run as follows: "To be recited four times. A boon-which-the-King-gives to the *ka* of Unis; O Osiris Unis, offered to thee is the eye of Horus, which thou once (?) didst eat (?)." The variant *p:t nt wdn wpt m gs 2* occurs first in a tabular list of the Middle Kingdom, NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pls. 17, 35.

<sup>3</sup> See MASPERO, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-8, for an explanation that seems to me very dubious. Perhaps this is the offering made by the King's courtiers.





would venture to put forward a new hypothesis, which appears to account for the facts in a more satisfactory manner. The "longer list of offerings" originated in the funerary temples of the Pharaohs at a date which may or may not be anterior to the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty; and it may very well be the case that considerably earlier still the ritual of funerary offerings which was celebrated on behalf of every deceased king contained the mention of the "royal offering." Now in the funerary cult of a Pharaoh there is a quite comprehensible reason why the funerary offerings should be called the boon of the King, even though in reality they might be derived from estates set apart by testament or by previous arrangement. This reason is that the new King was regarded as, and in fact usually was, the son of his predecessor, and therefore stood in the same relation to him as Horus to his father Osiris. Just as in the tomb of Amenemhēt the sons of Amenemhēt are depicted performing the offering-ceremony (Pls. X, XIV, XVIII), so in the funerary temple of a dead king his successor was intimately associated with the performance of the ritual, and could therefore legitimately be considered as the actual *donor* of the offerings. Figured representations of the King thus himself celebrating the act of  in front of his deceased father are unfortunately wanting, no doubt simply owing to the dearth of early material, but analogous pictures from the temples of the *gods* will be quoted below (§ 6), and seem almost decisive evidence that such must be the origin of the use of the phrase *ḥtp dī nīswt* as name of the principal funerary rite. That the King is assumed by the text of the funerary ritual to be the actual officiant is proved clearly enough by the words *ḥms iḡr, pr ḥrw nīswt*, "sit down now; the voice of the King goes forth" (*Pyr.*, 59d). This can only mean that concurrently with the bringing forward of the various items of the menu, dish by dish, the King in person pronounces the appropriate verbal formula, and so completes the transmission of the food to his deceased parent.

On this hypothesis the principal funerary rite is named *ḥtp dī nīswt* in the tombs of private individuals, *only because the funeral ritual in such tombs was modelled upon the observances in the royal pyramid-temples*. Strictly speaking, the rite called a "boon-which-the-King-gives" was nonsense when applied to a private person, for it was the son of that private person, and not the King, who was the theoretical officiant and therefore entitled to be called the giver of the boon.<sup>1</sup> We have analogies for this borrowing from royal patterns elsewhere; it is now sufficiently well proved that many chapters of the Pyramid Texts, later usurped by private individuals, originally were composed for the Pharaoh alone, and have strictly no application except to him; even the identification with Osiris, fondly cherished by every Egyptian in later times, seems at first to have been affected by the King alone, for Osiris is pre-eminently the type of the dead *King*, and not of the dead generally (see ERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 111, footnote 64a).

For the retention of the formula *ḥtp dī nīswt* in private tombs the custom described in the last section (§ 4) may nevertheless have been to some extent responsible, for it redeemed, or may have seemed to redeem, the expression from total meaninglessness when applied to private persons. The same explanation must doubtless be given of the formula *ḥtp dī nīswt* in its decorative use (§ 2), whenever the formula has reference to offerings of food; but here again, as the example naming the treasury quoted in § 2 showed, the practice of real royal gifts may have conduced to the retention of the formula.



#### § 6. *Ḥtp dī nīswt in the Ritual of the Temples.*

Just as the tombs of both Pharaohs and nobles derived their incomes from estates of their own, so too the temples of the gods maintained the cult that was celebrated in them by the help of their own landed property. This property, however, they held only by permission of the King, who at his accession "confirmed" (*śmn*) to them their titles and so appeared as the direct benefactor of the gods. Towards his fathers the gods the King occupied the same position as towards his physical father the deceased Pharaoh, and *mutatis mutandis* the cult of the gods was nearly identical with that of the departed Pharaoh.<sup>2</sup> Everywhere in the temples of the New Kingdom it is the reigning King whom the sculptures show performing the prescribed ritual before the deity,

<sup>1</sup> It is just possible that at certain moments the phrase "to make a boon-which-the-King-gives," when applied to private persons, may have been interpreted as meaning "to make an offering *such as* the King gives"; this is an old view, held, for example, formerly by Dümichen and now by Budge; see BUDGE, *Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, p. 31.


<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 74.






and when he accomplishes the act of  "making the boon-which-the-King-gives" (e.g. NAVILLE, *Deir el Bahari*, Pl. 95; CAPART, *Temple de Sêti Ier*, Pl. 44) it is self-evident that the phrase has been aptly and correctly chosen. It is surely due to chance alone that corresponding representations from the Old Kingdom have not been found, as there are many analogous rites of that date in which the King himself takes the principal part (e.g. BORCHARDT, *op. cit.*, vol. II, Pl. 35). In actual fact, of course, the King can seldom have performed the temple ritual in person; the temple-priests here generally acted as his deputies, as shown in the sculptures of the pyramid-temple of Sahurê, where the *imy-khant* priest is exhibited making  "a boon-which-the-King-gives to (the gods of) the northern half-realm" (*op. cit.*, vol. II, Pl. 19, cf. Pl. 67).

This evidence serves to show that from quite early times the phrase *h̄tp dī nīswt* was used in reference to temple-offerings just as much as in reference to the funerary offerings of the royal pyramids. In both these cases, as we have seen, the phrase bears a natural sense, the King being the theoretical officiant and therefore the presumptive giver of the offerings. The same is not true of the funerary cult of the nobles, where, moreover, though the employment of the formula *h̄tp dī nīswt* is universal, actual gifts of offerings on the part of the King can only have been exceptional; in this latter case, therefore, it seems likely that the use of the words *h̄tp dī nīswt* is secondary and derivative.

#### § 7. Transformation of the Formula *h̄tp dī nīswt* in Later Times.

The Pyramid Texts contain the first intimation of a new idea, based on the conception of the King as the source of the temple-offerings (§ 6), which seems largely to have influenced the later history of the *h̄tp dī nīswt* formula. The passage in question, translated here at length, promises a royal boon to the gods *on condition* that they deal beneficently with the deceased pyramid-owner: "A boon which the King gives and which Geb gives, even these joints and *p̄rt-hrw* offerings to all gods who shall bring to pass aught that is good for Merenrê, who shall make flourish this edifice and make flourish this pyramid, even as Merenrê desireth eternally. All gods who shall cause to be beautiful and to flourish this edifice and this pyramid shall be well-provided and wealthy, they shall have might and power, and to them shall be given the boon-which-the-King-gives () of bread, beer, oxen, geese, cloth, and unguents; they shall receive their divine offerings, they shall have slaughtered for them their meat-offerings, they shall assume the 'Great'-crown in the assembly of the gods" (*Pyr.*, 1649-51).

From the notion that the rendering of offerings to the gods ought to be made conditional upon their kindly treatment of the dead, it is but a tiny step to the propitiation of deities for the express purpose of securing their favour for the dead. Maspero (*op. cit.*, pp. 366-7) has thrown out the suggestion that the meaning of the *h̄tp dī nīswt* formula was later reinterpreted in this sense. It has been seen above (§ 2) that in the decorative and monumental use of the formula the name of a god or several gods was often associated with that of the King; the pattern is indicated by the words *h̄tp dī nīswt*, *h̄tp dī 'Inpw*, "a boon which the King gives, and a boon which Anubis gives." Even in the oldest periods there was a tendency to omit the words *h̄tp dī* on their second occurrence, and this tendency becomes the rule after the end of the Old Kingdom. The scheme is now *h̄tp dī nīswt 'Inpw*, "a boon which the King gives—Anubis," and certain modifications of the complementary and explanatory half of the formula (see § 2) indicate the growing popularity of a new interpretation that was placed upon it. The latter half of the formula was now increasingly often<sup>1</sup> ushered in by the words  "(that) he (may) give," or  "(that) they (may) give," according as the deities named were one or several; if only a goddess was mentioned  "(that) she (may) give" is found. There are two important points here to be noted, (1) that the variations of the suffixed pronoun prove that its meaning extends only to the deity or deities named, and not to the King as well, and (2) that the newly inserted verb *dī*, "give," must refer to a different act of giving than that implied in the preceding phrase *h̄tp dī nīswt*, "a boon which the King gives," unless its superfluity is to be admitted. It seems in the highest degree unlikely that the formula

<sup>1</sup> There are numerous exceptions, mostly survivals of the old types of continuation.

should be divided into two disconnected halves ("A boon which the King gives. Anubis, may he give . . . ."), as a recent rendering by Professor Erman appears to suggest.<sup>1</sup> The facts emphasized above indisputably point toward the notion of a bargain, according to which the King makes offerings to the god (or gods), *in order that* he (or they) may in turn give such and such a benefit to the dead.

Before proceeding farther, examples of the formula in its new shape must be quoted. As a type none better than that quoted by Maspero could be chosen; this is drawn from the stela C 18 of the Louvre, and runs, with Maspero's own rendering, as follows:

"Offrande royale à Osiris Khonît-Amenaton pour qu'il donne un [sort-la-voix] repas funéraire en miches, cruches pleines, volailles, viande de bœuf, gâteaux, étoffes, sachets de fard, toutes les choses bonnes et pures dont vit un dieu, au double du héraut du préfet, Ousirtasen."<sup>2</sup>

For examples where a goddess or several gods are named, we need look no farther than the tomb of Amenemhêt:

cf. . . . . . "an offering-which-the-King-gives (to) Mâ'et . . . . , that she may give . . . ." (Pl. XXX, bottom); . . . . . "an offering-which-the-King-gives (to) Ptah-Sokar and Anubis, that they may give . . . ." (Pl. XXXI, bottom right).

The strongest argument that can be quoted against the above interpretation is the almost invariable omission of a preposition before the divine name throughout the Middle and New Kingdoms. This omission is undeniably strange, even when the fullest allowance has been made for the conservative bias in favour of the traditional writings of the Old Kingdom, where of course a preposition was neither used nor required. Additional evidence must therefore be sought. In Ptolemaic and slightly earlier times the preposition *n* is in fact very commonly used, and for this late period therefore there can be no doubt but that

(AHMED BEY KAMAL, *Stèles ptolémaïques*, no. 22001, &c.) is to be rendered "an offering-which-the-King-makes to Osiris." That *hṯp dī nīswt* here definitely refers to food-offerings is shown by the frequent variant

(*op. cit.*, nos. 22017, 22018, &c.), a variant that was seen above (§ 1) to go back as far as the hieratic of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. It might perhaps be imagined that *hṯp dī nīswt* now meant no more

than a "kingly offering." Against this view speaks the monogrammatic writing of which several Eighteenth Dynasty examples can be quoted (MASPERO, *op. cit.*, p. 366; *Urkunden*, IV, 46; MORET, *Sphinx*, vol. XI, p. 31); these seem to dispose of the supposition that the King was no longer pictured in the mind as the actual giver of the offerings. Professor Petrie has drawn my attention to a stela of the reign of Tuthmosis IV, where the King is shown offering to Osiris "for the *ka* of the prince . . . Thuna" and his wife, who stand just behind him (MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. II, Pl. 48). No exact parallel from the Middle Kingdom seems forthcoming, but on one stela in Cairo (LANGE-SCHAEFER, *Grabsteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. IV, Pl. 8, no. 20089)

the formula "an offering-which-the-King-gives to Min for the *ka* of . . . . Urnebkemwey" accompanies a picture of Min with a table of offerings placed in front of him. That the offering-which-the-King-gives was considered especially appropriate to the gods, while the *pṛt-hrw* offerings often mentioned in the latter half of the formula were rather the perquisite of the blessed


dead, is indicated by a passage which speaks of offerings: "from the *hṯp-dī-nīswt* for the gods, and the *pṛt-hrw* for the blessed dead" (*Urkunden*, IV, 545). Lastly, the following

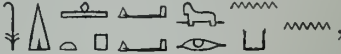

isolated example from the Twelfth Dynasty displays a preposition before the divine name: . . . . . "an offering-which-the-King-gives to Osiris . . . . that he may give offerings of bread," &c. (*Brit. Mus.*, reg. no. 162 = *Hierogl. Inser.*, Pt. IV, Pl. 33).

<sup>1</sup> *Die Hieroglyphen* (Sammlung Göschel), p. 69, quoted by Farina (*loc. cit.*); Farina rightly rejects this translation, but himself goes curiously astray by ignoring Maspero's view.

<sup>2</sup> There are one or two details in this translation, *e.g.* the name Ousirtasen, which Maspero himself would not now defend; they do not, however, affect its main tenour.



Thus we have found cumulative evidence sufficient wholly to vindicate Maspero's hypothesis, and we may regard it as an ascertained fact that the idea of the *hṭp dī nīswt* formula as expressing a bargain struck by the King with the gods on behalf of the dead was one current already in the Middle Kingdom, and one thenceforward continually increasing in popularity. At the same time the older conceptions may not have been forgotten, particularly where the words *hṭp dī* are still repeated with the divine name (*e.g.* LANGE-SCHAEFER, *op. cit.*, nos. 20025, 20318), or where, as frequently happens, the words  are not inserted before the second half of the formula.

Nor indeed is it impossible that yet other interpretations of the formula may have been tentatively tried. On a Cairo stele (LANGE-SCHAEFER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, no. 20335) is found the variant , which can hardly be rendered otherwise than "a kingly offering which Osiris gives to the *ka* of" the deceased. A similar conception seems to be indicated in a tomb at Qawiyet el Meitin, which goes back as far as the Sixth Dynasty; here we find  "a kingly offering made by Osiris . . . . . that he may be buried" (LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, Pl. iii, *g*; *cf. ibid. c*, where the name of Anubis is substituted for that of Osiris and the sequel refers to *pṛt-hrw* offerings).

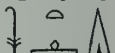

From the point of view of the history of religions the evolution here traced is not without its importance; we are able here to trace back a popular and lasting belief to a purely philological cause, namely, the habit that grew up under the Old Kingdom of omitting the words *hṭp dī* after the divine name.

#### § 8. *Uses and Religious Significance of the Modified Formula.*

In the Old Kingdom it was only in its decorative employment (§ 2) that a divine name was added to the formula *hṭp dī nīswt*; in conjunction with the pictures illustrating the funerary ritual (§ 3) the divine name was always absent. In the Middle Kingdom and onwards these uses have been considerably confused.

The monumental and decorative employment continues, but with a great extension both of the divinities who could be named and of the benefits that they could accord. Many of the gods now connected with the *hṭp dī nīswt* formula were such as never received an organized cult (*e.g.* the Western Desert, Pl. XXX[E]; Ernūtet, Pl. XXX[F]), and it is therefore plain that the formula can here only be the expression of a hope that the appropriate deity, imagined to be propitiated with offerings by the King, will confer upon the dead man the appropriate blessings.


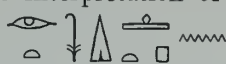
There has been more confusion in the other case, namely, where the formula applies directly to the ritual of divine offerings. It was seen above (§ 3) that a decorative *hṭp dī nīswt* formula naming a deity often stood upon the false door in immediate proximity to a scene of offering, and yet without any descriptive bearing upon it; obviously in course of time the scene and neighbouring inscription would lose their independence of one another, especially as the inscription often had reference to *pṛt-hrw* offerings. On the stelae of the Middle and New Kingdoms these originally decorative and commemorative formulae, now frequently expanded to great length, have obviously acquired a magico-religious significance as a means of insuring the owner of the stele against hunger and thirst.


The influence of the decorative style of formula was slower to affect the descriptive words accompanying the picture of the principal funerary rite itself. It has been seen that in the Old Kingdom the words  occasionally stand above the depicted image of the officiant (§ 3). From the early Middle Kingdom onwards the heading reads  "making a boon-which-the-King-gives" (LANGE-SCHAEFER, *op. cit.*, nos. 20027, 20102, 20104, 20115, 20128, 20313, 20395, &c.), apparently with an increased consciousness that the officiant is *playing the part* of the King.<sup>1</sup>

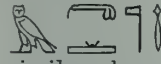
A rarer development of the same words seems to me to give the clue to the religious meaning attached to the *hṭp dī nīswt* formula as modified in the way explained in the last paragraph. On one Middle Kingdom

<sup>1</sup> Precisely the same phenomenon occurs in the scenes of temple-worship. In the old times, even where the rite is performed by a priest and not by the King himself, the heading is *hṭp dī nīswt*; later on it is invariably *irt hṭp dī nīswt*.

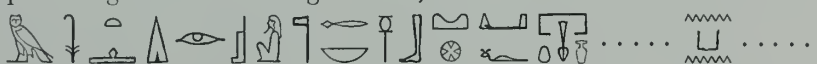


stele the usual descriptive phrase *irt ḥtp-dī-nīswt* is written  "making an offering-which-the-King-gives (to) Ptah-Sokar" (*op. cit.*, no. 20725); the interpretation of this is made more explicit by a New Kingdom example, which inserts the preposition *n*:  "making an offering-which-the-King-gives to Osiris" (*Turin 80 = Recueil de Travaux*, vol. III [1882], p. 108). In both these cases the son of the deceased, clad in the panther-skin, stands in front of the offering-table at which his father sits; it therefore seems apparent that as he raises his arm and pronounces the invocation, he at one and the same moment not only plays his own part as pious son of his dead father, but also *pretends to be the King making offerings to the god; and in some miraculous manner, not to be grasped by any but the mystic, the temple-rite thus simulated was supposed to react favourably on the funerary rite.* It was in this sense only that the two halves of the bargain—King offering to god, and god granting food to deceased—were represented by an external and objective cult-act. Mr. H. R. Hall has drawn my attention to a stele in the British Museum (reg. no. 214 = *Hierogl. Inser.*, Pt. V, Pl. 44: Dyn. XVIII?), which can certainly be understood better on the above hypothesis than if interpreted in any other way. The inscription is of the usual kind, a *ḥtp dī nīswt* to Osiris, that he may give . . . . offerings, &c., . . . . to N and his wife M; but above this formula is a twofold scene of exceptional kind. In the upper half the King stands and offers wine to Osiris and Isis, all the figures being in a celestial boat; immediately below this is what appears to be the terrestrial counterpart of the same act, namely a man, probably a son, making offerings with almost exactly the same gesture to the deceased and his wife, who are accompanied by their family. It would be strange if these two scenes did not represent the double aspect, divine and funerary, of one and the same physical act.

Formerly I was inclined to see in the later modification of the *ḥtp dī nīswt* formula the reflexion of a funerary practice that grew common before the end of the Old Kingdom. Contracts were made with the priests of the local priesthoods by which, in return for a certain legacy, offerings from the temple should on specified dates be delivered to the *ka*-priest of the deceased for the purposes of his funerary cult.<sup>1</sup> In the elaborate development of the later *ḥtp dī nīswt* formula allusions are undoubtedly often made to this practice. Among the things expected of the god were "that he might give . . . . 

 food-offerings that have gone up before the great god" (LANGE-SCHAEFER, *op. cit.*, no. 20012), and similar phrases are of extreme frequency. It is, however, noticeable that where such references are made to a double usage of the same offerings, first in a temple and then in a tomb, the name of the god on whose altar they are said to have gone up is almost always conspicuously different from that of the god mentioned after the words *ḥtp dī nīswt*; thus the example just quoted runs more completely thus: "An offering-which-the-King-gives (to) Anubis . . . . that there may be offerings, a thousand of bread . . . . and a thousand food-offerings that have gone up before the great god (Osiris)." This difference of name seems definitely to prove that the words *ḥtp dī nīswt Inpw* can have no reference to the practice in question; were it otherwise, then we should almost certainly have found as the continuation: ". . . . and thousands of food-offerings that have gone up before him," i.e. before Anubis.<sup>2</sup>

The first explanation is therefore far preferable. Suppose the rite to be performed by a priest and not by the son of the deceased; then at the critical moment this priest impersonates both the King making his offering to the god, and the son bringing his oblation to his father; and so blended and inseparable are these two sides of the single rite, that the priest may fairly be said to "make the offering which the King gives to" the god, in order that the latter "may grant offerings to the deceased."

A curious and interesting survival of the usage discussed above in § 4 occurs upon a stele of the reign of Senusret I, now in New York. The inscription begins with the regnal date, and then continues as follows: "My Majesty has given to thee this stele 

<sup>1</sup> For the latest discussion of such contracts, see PETRIE, *Tarkhan*, I, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> It is, however, interesting to note that the King was sometimes regarded as the ultimate authority on which the funerary offerings, distributed in this manner, rested; cf. the title of an official "causing divine offerings to fall to the share of the gods, and *pri-hrw* offerings to the blessed dead, by command of Horus, lord of the Palace" (*Leiden*, V, 1, quoted by BREASTED in *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 39 [1901], p. 85; Breasted less appropriately interprets this as referring to such direct gifts as were discussed in § 4 above).



as a boon-which-the-King-gives to Osiris the great god lord of Abydos, in order that he may give offerings . . . . to the *ka* of . . . . Mentuser" (C. RANSOM, *The Stela of Menthu-Weser*, New York, 1913). Here again we find a combination of a technical use of the phrase *ḥtp dī nīswt* with the complex decorative formula of § 2. The author of the above passage seems to have conceived the dedication of the stela as a boon conferred upon Osiris by the Pharaoh who gave it, in return for which the god would guarantee funerary offerings to the deceased Mentuser. Whether this conception was one widely held is doubtful; at all events, we have no further evidence on the subject.


#### § 9. *The ḥtp dī nīswt Formula as Incantation.*

Both in its use for ornamental purposes and as explanatory heading above pictures of funeral rites the *ḥtp dī nīswt* formula has been shown to be simply and solely descriptive; it is neither wish nor prayer nor yet spell, but merely statement of fact. In a land, however, where the spoken word was supposed to be charged with magical potency a purely descriptive formula was naturally always liable to be employed as an incantation, and in fact we find that the *ḥtp dī nīswt* was secondarily so employed. It must frequently have happened that actual offerings were not forthcoming or that their cessation was to be feared, and in consequence the inscriptions of the tombs often appeal to passers-by to recite some words which might obviate this danger. In the Old Kingdom it is not the *ḥtp dī nīswt* formula but other words that are used in this way, *e.g.* the following passage in the tomb of Herkhuf at Assuan: "O ye who live upon earth, and who shall pass by this tomb in going northward or southward, and who shall say 'A thousand of bread and a thousand of beer for the owner of this tomb,' I will watch (?) over them in the Necropolis" (*Urkunden*, I, 122, *cf.* 147).<sup>1</sup>

From the Twelfth Dynasty onwards the *ḥtp dī nīswt* formula was also quite commonly used in the same way, and sometimes in the full form with added god's name that was current at that period. A single instance alone need be quoted in full: "O ye who live upon earth, and who pass by this tomb, so truly as ye wish to dwell in this temple of Osiris among-the-Westerners, so truly as ye love Wep-wawet your sweet and lovable god, so truly as ye love the gods of your town and wish that your children may succeed to your posts, say ye thus:



'an offering-which-the-King-gives (to) Osiris lord of Abydos, a thousand of bread and beer . . . . to the *ka* of . . . . Nehnini'" (LANGE-SCHAEFER, *op. cit.*, no. 20119). Other examples with a divine name added are *op. cit.*, nos. 20530, 20775; without a divine name, *op. cit.*, nos. 20043, 20046, 20329, 20497, 20609; from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards there is a strong preponderance of the examples with a divine name.

In the tomb of Amenemhēt and other tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty a *ḥtp dī nīswt* formula is sometimes written over the head of the maker of offerings (see Pls. X, XIV), and occasionally it is preceded by the words  (see Pl. V).<sup>2</sup> In such cases perhaps the possibility was foreseen that the tomb-owner might lack material supplies of food; where this happened, a recitation of the *ḥtp dī nīswt* formula would make good the deficiency, or the same result might even be achieved by a picture of the deceased's son making such a recitation.

#### § 10. *Recapitulation.*

It remains to summarize the results of the foregoing investigation. The reading *ḥtp dī* (or *rdī*) *nīswt* (or *nsw*) having been proved, these words were shown to mean "a boon-which-the-King-gives"; and since

<sup>1</sup> Particularly instructive is the following Middle Kingdom example: "O ye who live and exist . . . ., as ye love life and hate death, ye shall offer to me of that which is in your hands; if there be nothing in your hands ye shall speak with your mouths, 'A thousand of bread and beer, &c.'" (LANGE-SCHAEFER, *op. cit.*, no. 20003). As a further elaboration of the same thought may be quoted a series of tags commonly appended to such exhortations, the upshot of which is that the utterance of words is but so much breath expended, it costs the speaker nothing, and so forth; see SPIEGELBERG, *Eine Formel der Grabsteine*, in *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 45 (1908), pp. 67-71.


<sup>2</sup> *Cf. Pyr.*, 35, where the words *ḥtp dī nīswt* occur already in the verbal rite (see above, p. 85, n. 2). Of course it is not until the spoken formula *replaces* the actual giving of the offerings that it becomes a magical incantation in the sense of this paragraph; previously it is mere description of an act in the course of being performed.



from a comparatively early date the boon invariably consisted in food-offerings, it is advisable to render thenceforth "an offering-which-the-King-gives" (§ 1). The early uses of the phrase *ḥtp dī nīswt* were next discussed, and a distinction was drawn between its employments (*a*) as a formula much in vogue for decorative purposes, affirming the indebtedness of the deceased to the King, to a god, or to both, for various kinds of benefit conferred (§ 2); (*b*) as a formula describing the principal act in the ritual of funerary offerings, in which case no god was originally associated with the King (§ 3); and thirdly (*c*) as an everyday expression in reference to various gifts of the King, mainly gifts of a funerary character (§ 4). It was then pointed out that this last employment (*c*) relates to a custom hardly universal enough to account for the use of the phrase in reference to the funerary cult of private individuals (*b*), and an alternative explanation of this latter use was offered; it was shown that the phrase "a boon-which-the-King-gives" is natural enough in connection with the funerary ritual of a deceased Pharaoh, since to him the living King would in reality be liable for the offerings expected of a pious son; and it was suggested therefore that the application of the phrase to the funerary cult of private individuals was borrowed from the royal funerary cult (§ 5). Corroboration of this hypothesis was obtained from (*d*) the use of the formula *ḥtp dī nīswt* in the temple ritual, the King there standing to the god worshipped in the same relation as he bore towards his deceased father (§ 6). From the Middle Kingdom onwards these various uses were confused, and a hybrid formula was evolved, the underlying idea of which was a bargain struck between the King and certain gods, offerings being made to the gods as an inducement to them to give similar offerings to the deceased (§ 7). It was shown how this new version of the formula with its new interpretation gradually permeated not only (*a*) its decorative but also (*b*) its ritualistic employment; in the latter case it was made probable that the officiant now mystically played a double rôle, representing at one and the same time the King engaged in the cult of some god and the dead man's son making offerings to his father (§ 8). Lastly, evidence was brought to prove that the *ḥtp dī nīswt* formula, which had been found to be *descriptive* in all its other four uses, was in the end used (*c*) as an invocation for magically creating funerary offerings which were absent in material reality (§ 9).

## EXCURSUS II.

THE RITE CALLED *int rd*, "BRINGING THE FOOT."

The rite described by the words  (so written out NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. 35) "bringing the foot," or perhaps "removing the foot," is represented in the sculptures or wall-paintings by the figure of a man dragging behind him a long tail-like object, his face usually turned backward as he performs this act. Sometimes, quite clearly for example in Pl. XVIII, where it is yellow, the mysterious object is a bundle of grasses or reeds tied together in several places. In rare cases (DAVIES, *Ptahhotep*, II, Pl. 31; NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh*, I, Pl. 34) the man, who is as a rule the lector-priest, is not looking round.

In most of the places where this rite is depicted (NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pls. 17, 35; GRIFFITH, *Siut*, Pl. 1 [but not Pl. 2]; NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh*, I, 34; QUIBELL, *Excavations at Sakkara*, vol. I, Pl. 19; CAPART, *Une Rue de Tombeaux*, Pl. 98; exceptions, VON BISSING, *Mastaba des Gemnikai*, Pl. 19; DAVIES, *Ptahhotep*, II, Pl. 31) it forms the last act in the sequence of ceremonies with which it is associated, and this alone might justify the conclusion that it was essentially a terminal rite, a *rite de sortie* as a French investigator might term it, such as must immediately have preceded the leaving of the Shrine. Confirmation of this view is obtained both in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos and in the temple of Deir el Bahari (NAVILLE, *Deir el Bahari*, Pl. 28),<sup>1</sup> where the position of the scene is conclusive. So, too, in a list of offerings dating from the Old Kingdom (Cairo, 1490-2) the last entry consists of the words *int rd*. Lastly, in the Louvre papyrus of the "Hathorienne Sais" (SCHIAPARELLI, *Il libro dei Funerali*, vol. I, p. 181) the text referring to this ceremony is one of the last chapters in the book.

The evidence therefore points clearly in the direction of the fact that the rite of "bringing the foot" is a terminal rite of prophylactic or precautionary nature. That the rite had some such general character is

<sup>1</sup> Here performed by the King before the god Min. On the other hand, *op. cit.*, Pls. 109, 112 belong to the funerary cult of Hatshepsowet.





are the sistrum, the *menat*-necklace, and another less familiar object with yellow handle and white flap, that is rather differently figured in the contemporary tomb of Min, the mayor of Thinis.<sup>1</sup> The sistrum, here white in imitation of silver, is a musical instrument so called because when shaken it emits from its bars a tinkling sound. The *menat*-necklace is no less intimately symbolic of Hathor; it consisted of a heavy bunch of blue beads balanced on the wearer's back by two golden counterpoises. The first priestess depicted is one of

"The female musicians of [Amūn], Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands (*i.e.* Karnak), chief of the [gods]"; and the second stands for

"The female musicians of the Great Ennead which is in 'Elect-of-Places' (*i.e.* again Karnak)"; and the third, as was to be expected, represents

"The female musicians of Hathor, lady of Dendera, mistress of all the gods."<sup>2</sup>

The horizontal line of inscription above the scene conveys the words supposed to be spoken by the priestesses:—

"Recitation: I offer to thee the *menat*-necklaces, the sistra called *sekhem* and the sistra called *sesheset*, (even these emblems) belonging to Amūn [lord of Karnak (?) together with] his [Ennead] and (belonging to) Hathor in all her names, in order that they may give to thee a fair and long-lasting life . . . ."<sup>3</sup>

The presentation of sistrum and *menat* was a symbolic act that was repeated on almost every occasion when female dancers were engaged; these dancers were conscious impersonators of Hathor, and their pantomime displays the goddess in the act of conferring her favours upon the lord of the feast. In the well-known story of the traveller Sinuhe the little princesses celebrate his return to Court by songs and dances, from which this point clearly emerges;<sup>4</sup> and confirmatory evidence is found in the tombs of Puimrē (no. 39) and Min (no. 109),<sup>5</sup> where there are found sculptures parallel to the paintings here before us.

Behind the last of the priestesses is a lacuna that may have contained either one figure or two, to the left of which is a unique representation of music and dancing in which two priests of Hathor take part. These latter wear a white fillet around their heads and the *menat*-necklace upon their necks, and clap together yellow human-headed castanets, a pair being held in either hand. Their hieroglyphic description is as follows<sup>6</sup>:—

"The *ihwey*-priest of Hathor, lady of Dendera";





















and again,

"The *ihwey*-priest of Nūb ('Gold'), lady of Dendera."

In front of the priests are a man clapping his hands and a woman snapping her fingers in

<sup>1</sup> See SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 978.

<sup>2</sup> The following inscriptions had been published already, SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1060–1 (E, 1, 2).

<sup>3</sup> The principal lacunae in this inscription are due to the erasure, by the Akhenaton worshippers, of 'Inn, mn in the word *mnūt* and *ntrw* in the word *psdt-(ntrw)*; read  [  ] =  |  = [  ] [  ] . . . . .              

<sup>4</sup> See GARDINER, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, pp. 100–103.

<sup>5</sup> For an extremely inexact publication of the latter by Virey, see *Mission archéologique française*, vol. 5, p. 364.

<sup>6</sup> Already published SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1060 (E, 3).

rhythmical accompaniment to the leapings of a man who stands between them; just as at the present day the sight of *fellâhîn* jumping straight into the air out of sheer joy is said to be common at village *fantasîyas*.<sup>1</sup>

A very close and interesting parallel to the entire scene has just been published by Mr. Blackman from a tomb-chapel of the Twelfth Dynasty in the Necropolis of Meir.<sup>2</sup> Not only are the female musicians of Hathor depicted with their *menats* and their sistra, but also the *ihwey*-priests with their castanets are there to be seen. A harper plays the accompaniment to a song in praise of the goddess, and various attendants, headed by the tomb-owner's steward, bring to him presents in honour of the occasion. The immediate cause for this unusual representation in the Meir tomb was doubtless the vicinity of the town of Cusae, where Hathor was the local goddess. That the scene refers to her annual festival can hardly, I think, be doubted, though the accompanying texts afford no explicit confirmation of this surmise. The presence of the "steward" and the absence of any reference to *ka*-priests would appear to indicate that the picture was intended to be reminiscent, and referred to festivals celebrated during the tomb-owner's life.

But what of the scene in the tomb of Amenemhêt? We must, I think, reconstruct in our imaginations the festival of Hathor as in the main a glorified repetition of those private entertainments in which female dancers amused the guests at Theban dinner-parties. On this public holiday there may have been a temple celebration and a procession; and after these things the priestesses of Karnak doubtless paraded the town, stopping at one house after another in order to bestow upon their owners the blessings of Hathor, as symbolized in song and dance. From the eastern bank of the Nile they may have passed over to the Necropolis in the western hills, there to accomplish for the dead that which had been accomplished already on behalf of the living. It is not beyond the range of probability that the Shrine of Amenemhêt has actually witnessed those very same dances that are figured on its walls.

NORTH WALL, PENULTIMATE ROW: RITES BELONGING TO OTHER PERIODICAL FESTIVALS.  
(Pls. XXII[B] and XXIII.)

The rites depicted in the corresponding place on the opposite wall are less characteristic of a particular occasion, yet their inscriptions prove them to refer to certain specified feast-days, a fact that goes far to substantiate the interpretation given of the preceding picture. As before, the inner end of the register was occupied by the seated images of Amenemhêt and his spouse, the never-failing table of offerings in front of them. Seven men approach from the side of the entrance, each holding a lighted candle in the one hand and a jar of ointment in the other; the candle is red and white, and doubtless consisted of a wick (*gmh-t*) dipped in tallow. All the men were probably described as brothers of Amenemhêt, but of one alone, Userhêt, has the name been preserved. The texts, which serve mutually for the restoration the one of the other, are as follows:—

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<sup>1</sup> All the figures described in this paragraph are found drawn in Hay's manuscripts, *Brit. Mus.*, Add. MSS. 29823, fol. 56, and in Burton's, *Brit. Mus.*, Add. MSS. 25638, fol. 74; they are also published WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, vol II, p. 257, no. 198 = ed. BIRCH, vol. I, p. 454, no. 223; PRISSE, *Monuments*, Pl. 44, top.

<sup>2</sup> See BLACKMAN, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, Part I, Pl. 2.



"[The birthday of] Osiris. [Kindling a light]; ointment [is given]."

"[The birthday of] Horus. Kindling [a light]; receiving<sup>1</sup> illumination."

"[The birthday of] Isis. Kindling a light; receiving illumination."

"The birthday of Nephthys. Kindling a light; ointment is given."

"The day of the New Year. Kindling a light. The eye of Horus is vigilant for thy protection."

"The day of 'Uniting the *Kas*.' Kindling a light. The eye of Horus is vigilant [for the protection of the scribe] Amenemhēt."

"A light for the use<sup>2</sup> of every day, illuminating the road of darkness for the scribe who reckons the grain, the steward Amenemhēt, everywhere that he goes."

The last entry hints that the rite of illumination would not have been unacceptable to Amenemhēt on every day of the year; but the separate mention of six important feast-days, chiefly falling near the beginning of the year, shows that he was prepared to be content if only he could be thus honoured on special occasions. The birthdays of Osiris and Horus, Isis and Nephthys were four out of the so-called epagomenal days, the five days reckoned at the beginning of the year, and before New Year's Day, in order to complete the tale of three hundred and sixty-five. Curiously enough, Prince Hepzefi of Siut, in the second reign of the Twelfth Dynasty, likewise stipulates for candles to be given to his *ka*-priest on just these days.<sup>3</sup> Amenemhēt also names the day of the New Year and the day of the "Uniting of the *Kas*"; the latter was the important festival of Khoiak, originally celebrated in the fifth month, and possibly the reminiscence of an ancient political Act of Union.<sup>4</sup>

Above the scene runs a line of inscription containing a slightly divergent version of the extract from the *Libro dei Funerali*, which we shall find again in the Burial-chamber.<sup>5</sup> This gives a mythological interpretation of the rite of illumination and the rite of censuring that must have accompanied it:—

"[O Osiris Amenemhēt . . . . . The incense comes . . . . ., the honour comes] that went forth from the back of Osiris. Horus has fumigated him through his eye, Horus has censured him through his eye. O Osiris, scribe Amenemhēt, its fragrance comes to thee."

The burning of the candle must be thought of as taking place before the Niche with statues at dead of night. It is true that a similar picture occurs in the Burial-chamber (Pl. XLVI), but there it is mere illustration of the accompanying hieratic text, which is drawn from the ritual of the day of burial. It would be interesting to discover whether the practice of burning candles for the dead in Christian lands is lineally descended thither from Ancient Egypt; in both cases the idea is clearly that of a wakeful and never-resting vigilance.

Similar scenes are not of common occurrence in the Necropolis of Thebes; I have found such only in the tombs of Senemioh (no. 127) and of Menkheperasonb (no. 112), both times in the outermost chamber, where they are obviously not appropriate. In the first-named tomb a

<sup>1</sup> The word *šsp* has here borrowed its determinative from its object, as the parallels quoted below show; the scribe may possibly also have been reminded of the word *šsp*, "dawn."

<sup>2</sup>  $\overline{\Delta}$  *hrt*.

<sup>3</sup> GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siut*, tomb 1, l. 312.

See my article *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 43 (1906), p. 139, where in identifying the feasts of *Nḥb-kꜣw* and *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* I have failed to note that *Paheri* (E. E. F. edition), Pl. 4, is almost conclusive on the point; the larger inscription there mentions *Nḥb-kꜣw*, but beside the children who bring presents what is apparently the same festival is named *Kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* (Khoiak).

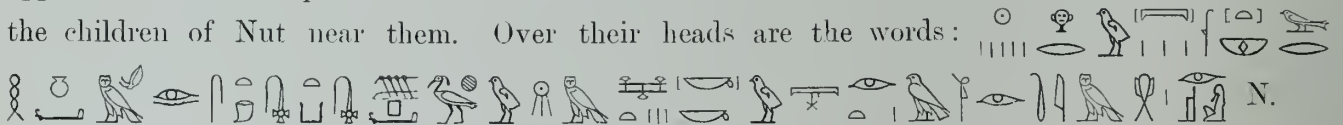
<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 107.

man is shown pouring libations with one hand and holding a candle in the other; the accompanying legend runs:







"The five days upon the year, birthdays of the gods; making purification and censing, . . . . the altars, kindling the light, receiving illumination in the path of darkness, the eye of Horus being watchful for the protection of Senemioh, justified."

In the tomb of Menkheperasonb (no. 112), besides other figures there are five men similar in appearance to those represented in the tomb of Amenemhēt, with the names of the birthdays of the children of Nut near them. Over their heads are the words:



"The five days upon the year; anointing and painting the eye, kindling the light, receiving illumination in the path of darkness, the eye of Horus being vigilant for the protection of Osiris Menkheperasonb."

SOUTH WALL, }	LOWEST ROW: ATTENDANTS WITH OFFERINGS.	{ Pls. XIX, XX.
NORTH WALL, }		{ Pls. XXII(B), XXIII.

To all the ceremonies performed for Amenemhēt after his death, whether referring to everyday observances or those of special dates, the accompaniment of a banquet was indispensable; hence it is not unnatural to find a row of attendants bringing offerings as the conclusion of this theme. The pictures speak for themselves, and it is hardly needful to do more than give a few notes on the colours used. On the S. wall two of the women are pink-skinned; the rest have the conventional yellow complexions. The heron led by the servant Si-amūn in Pl. XIX is pink, like the figs in the improvised basket which the "serving-man Amen . . ." holds slung from a pole. Farther along is the "serving-man Nebseniy," followed by "the waitress Neferkhēwet" at once balancing a tray of white conical loaves on her forearm and leading a young mountain goat of lilac colour. The "serving-man Kenamūn" is next beheld bringing a white calf with red spots (Pl. XX); near him a later *graffito*, "the scribe Amenemopet." The "waitress Nehemya" precedes another Nebseniy leading a black-and-white dappled bull. On the N. wall (Pl. XXII[B]) a woman is followed by "her son the serving-man Nebwau," who carries a basket of grapes and an ingeniously tied-up package of pomegranates, alternately red and yellowish. The next woman leads a prettily-drawn pink gazelle<sup>1</sup>; whether the accompanying hieroglyphic name Neshet-mut belongs to her or it is obscure. After two men and a woman, named respectively Amenhotpe, Neferehbof, and Amen . . . . (Pl. XXIII), comes a man-servant called Siamūn with two trays of figs and a smaller tray suspended by string which holds some small elongated pink fruit (are these dates?). Two more serving-men, Neferehbof ([]   ) and Kenamūn, end the row, the latter bringing a black-and-white bull and some white object, possibly a vegetable, on a tray.

The bands of inscription above these pictures of offering-bringers are closely similar on

<sup>1</sup> A drawing of this, *Brit. Mus.*, Add. MSS. 29823, fol. 60 (Hay).

the two walls, and possess considerable interest<sup>1</sup>; that on the S. wall (Pls. XIX, XX) is the more complete:—

“[Bringing all manner of good things] . . . . in all his places . . . . . [for the steward of the Vizier,] Amenemhēt, justified; for [his] *ka*, for his stele belonging to this tomb<sup>2</sup> which is in the Necropolis, for his destiny,<sup>3</sup> for his life, for his place of origin, for his upbringing, and for his Khnūm. May these gods grant him to have control thereof, to be rich therewith, to be justified<sup>4</sup> therewith, even as those [gods who are in]<sup>5</sup> his train for ever and ever.”

On the N. wall we read (Pls. XXII, XXIII):—

“[Bringing all manner of good things . . . . for the scribe, reckoner of the grain in] the granary of divine offerings of [Amūn], Amenemhēt, for his *ka*, for his stele . . . . . for his [soul], for his illumination, for his corpse, for his shadow, and for all his modes of being (*ḥprw*). May these gods <grant<sup>6</sup>> him to have superfluity thereof, to partake thereof, to eat thereof and to drink thereof, like the ancients eternally.”

It is unfortunate that on both walls the beginning of the formula has been destroyed. Sethe proposes to restore the usual words [𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 . . . .] by which the legend above bringers of offerings is as a rule ushered in. To this very reasonable suggestion the sole objection that can be raised lies in the words “. . . . in all his places” on the S. wall, which show that a deity, or it may be several deities, was mentioned in the lacuna. In spite of this uncertainty it seems incontestable that the words “these gods” in each inscription refer to the previously enumerated “modes of appearance” ascribed to Amenemhēt, namely his *ka*, his stele, his destiny, and so forth.

Herein consists the truly unique character of these two bands of hieroglyphic inscription, though indeed they merely illustrate the extreme logical consequence of a very ancient direction of thought. From the earliest times whence we have written records, the Egyptians believed that the human individuality could present itself under a variety of forms, which are less “parts” of its nature, as vulgarly stated, than shifting modes of its being. The often visualized bird-like soul (*ba*) is one of these forms, the *ka* or double<sup>7</sup> another, the shadow a third, the corpse a fourth, and so on. These distinctions are the outcome of separate trends of thought, not necessarily consecutive yet not the result of a single effort of self-analysis: in the earlier times they co-existed in the religious consciousness as almost unperceived inconsistencies, being

<sup>1</sup> Already published SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1060–1 (F).

<sup>2</sup> Over 𓂏 of the word for “stele” 𓂏𓂏 has been corrected in red. Sethe has rightly seen that *isy pu* must be emended for *ḥpu*.

<sup>3</sup> Read 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, the last two signs being written over a deleted 𓂏; for the determinative, which reminds one of the “seal of fate,” I have no parallel.

<sup>4</sup> Emend *ms* *ḥrrw-f*; the suffix was never written.




<sup>5</sup> Read *nm n* [𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏]

<sup>6</sup> 𓂏 has been omitted by the scribe.

<sup>7</sup> The nature of the *ka* has been much discussed in recent years, and some bibliographical references may be useful to the student. See von BISSING, *Versuch einer neuen Erklärung des Ka'i der alten Aegypter*, in *Sitzungsber. d. kön. bayr. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Jahrgang 1911, 5. Abh.; G. STEINDORFF, *Der Ka und die Grabstatuen*, in *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 48 (1910), pp. 152–159; G. MASPERO, *Le Ka des Egyptiens est-il un génie ou un double?* in *Mém. de la Soc. de géogr. et d'hist. nat. de Paris*, vol. 6, pp. 125–146; H. JUNKER, *Vorbericht über die zweite Grabung bei den Pyramiden in Anzeiger d. phil. hist. Kl. d. kais. Akad. d. Wissensch.* (Vienna), Jahrgang 1913, no. 14, pp. 12–13 of the offprint; J. H. BREASTED, *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 52–55; A. MORET, *Mystères Egyptiens*, pp. 199–219; H. SOTTAS, in *Sphinx*, vol. 17, p. 33.



seldom compared or contrasted with one another. The theological and mystery-loving tendencies of the Eighteenth Dynasty, on the other hand, seem to revel in the variety of aspects under which the dead man could reveal himself, as if each additional one of them increased his chances of eternal life and welfare. In the older period we seldom hear of other modes of existence than the *ka*, the *bai*, and the *ikh* or glorious and illuminated state, with which the shadow, the name, and the corpse are not yet quite on a par. The Eighteenth Dynasty adds the destiny (*shay*), the upbringing (*run*), and the place of origin (*mslnt*). Almost peculiar to the tomb of Amenemhēt is the acceptance of a man's life (*ʿahē*), his stele (*ʿb*), and his Khnum, as forms of immanence analogous to the soul; the last of these<sup>1</sup> appears to be the ram-headed Potter-god personified in the act of moulding the particular image of Amenemhēt out of the wet clay.

Strangest thing of all, these various modes of being (*hprw*) are here regarded as gods, spirits distinct from Amenemhēt himself, and jealously vigilant over his means of sustenance. It has long been known that the early writings of the word for "double" (*ka* ) are such as to imply its divine nature, and Sir Gaston Maspero has recently shown<sup>2</sup> the same to be true of the soul (*bai*  ) in the Pyramid Texts; but the passages we are here considering appear to stand alone in their qualification of these and the other modes of being as gods distinct from and exerting guardianship over the individual to whom they particularly belong.

WEST WALL, TO EACH SIDE OF THE NICHE, UPPER HALF: AMENEMHĒT WORSHIPS THE  
GODDESSES OF EAST AND WEST. (Pl. XXVII.)

To right and left of the Niche are unusual but appropriate scenes of Amenemhēt doing homage to the goddesses of the East and West. In either case he kneels, and his outstretched hands present two bowls, which we learn from the appended hieroglyphs to contain wine. The goddess, wearing a red fillet, is seated stiffly on a throne of blue and red, *ʿankh*-sign and *uas*-sceptre in her hands; she on the N. side has the hieroglyph for "east" (*ʿebtet*) upon her head, she on the S. side the sign for "west" (Amentet), and they are also more explicitly described as "the Eastern Desert, mistress of the gods," and "the Western Desert, mistress of the gods," respectively. Over Amenemhēt's head are his name and title, accompanied once by the name and title of his father, and once by those of his mother. In a vertical column are given the words of the goddesses; the Eastern goddess says:—

"I have given to thee the sweet breath of her that is in the desert unto thy nostril every day,"  
while the utterance of the Western goddess begins:—

"My arms encircle . . . . . " (*cf.* Pl. X).

These pictures have no real religious significance, and indeed it is hardly too much to say that the representation of the "Eastern Desert" owes its existence to the demands of symmetry alone. The offering to the personified "Western Desert" is perhaps merely an expression of the truth that all must bow their heads to her sooner or later; though it is also possible

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 113, top.

<sup>2</sup> In the article quoted p. 99, footnote 7.

that the officiant in the funerary cult may sometimes have poured a libation to the goddess on Amenemhēt's behalf.

The lower halves of the wall on each side are wholly destroyed; they may have contained pictures of Amenemhēt offering to Osiris or Anubis.

#### WEST WALL, OVER OPENING OF NICHE: ENTABLATURE. (Pl. XXVIII.)

Above the opening of the Niche is an ornamental superstructure moulded in plaster, with raised designs of orange-colour upon a red background. This superstructure or entablature is a feature of common occurrence in the tombs of Thebes and El Amarna,<sup>1</sup> though its ornamentation varies greatly in different places. The type here found has an exact parallel in the shrine of Ashait found at Deir el Bahari (Eleventh Dynasty).<sup>2</sup> It seems to carry out the idea of a panelled wall in two stages, each crowned with a row of hawk-heads: the two central panels contain the emblem of the tied papyrus-heads familiar from Old Kingdom false doors,<sup>3</sup> and the remainder consist of the *dad*-column or symbol of stability repeated over and over again. Two painted *uzat*-eyes in the corners above the arch disturb the beauty of the design.

#### CEILING-INSCRIPTIONS. (Pl. XXVII.)

The ceiling-inscriptions of the Shrine consist of five bands running parallel to the axis of the tomb.<sup>4</sup>

Extreme southern band:—

"Recitation: O steward who reckonest that which exists, the scribe Amenemhēt, justified, may thy name endure within thy mansion, thy statues in their shrines, thy soul living, thy corpse [being established]<sup>5</sup> in thy tomb of the Necropolis, [thy name being established]<sup>6</sup> and lasting in the mouth of thy children eternally."

Middle southern band:—

"Recitation: O steward who reckonest the men, [the scribe] Amenemhēt, justified; the Desert reaches out her arms to thee, the West rejoices at thy beauty, she makes obeisance in front of thee after years of revered old age,<sup>7</sup> she assigns thee a place<sup>8</sup> among her followers, who exist eternally."

Central band:—

"Recitation: O steward who reckonest the grain, the scribe Amenemhēt, justified; mayest thou enter into and go forth from the West, mayest thou stride through the gate of the Netherworld, mayest thou adore

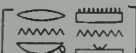

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* in the tombs of Puimrē (no. 39), Amenemhēt Surere (no. 48), Menna (no. 69), Kenamūn (no. 93); DAVIES, *El Amarna*, vol. III, Pl. 19; vol. VI, Pl. 36.

<sup>2</sup> NAVILLE, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, Pt. II, Pl. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* BORCHARDT, *Grabtempel des Königs Neuserre*, p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> Already published SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1062-4.

<sup>5</sup> Emend with Sethe 

<sup>6</sup> Emend  and correct the next word in the plate to . Both here and in the last lacuna the Akhenaton heretics have hacked out the word *mn* owing to its recalling the hated name of Amūn.

<sup>7</sup> The signs for *imsh* as originally painted faced in the wrong direction; they have been corrected in red in the right direction.

<sup>8</sup> The scribe has written  in place of 

Rē when he arises from the mountain, mayest thou worship him when he sets in the horizon, mayest thou receive oblations, and mayest thou be satisfied with repasts from the table of the lord of eternity."

Middle northern band:—

"Recitation: O steward who reckonest the fields, the scribe Amenemhēt, justified: mayest thou wander as thou listest on the beauteous margin of thy garden-pond, may thy heart have pleasure in thy plantations, mayest thou have refreshment under thy trees,<sup>1</sup> may thy desire be appeased with water from within the well which thou didst make, for ever and for aye."

Extreme northern band:—

"Recitation: O steward who reckonest the bronze, the scribe Amenemhēt, justified: mayest thou cleave the mountains of the Necropolis, mayest thou see thy house of the living and hear<sup>2</sup> the sound of singing and music in thy hall that is on this earth, and mayest thou be a protection unto thy children for ever and for aye."

## 7.—THE NICHE.

The back part of the Niche was occupied by the now destroyed statues of Amenemhēt and his wife, which were moulded in plaster upon a still remaining rough core of rock. The side-walls were undoubtedly decorated with symmetrical scenes, of which only a few scraps of inscription on the northern wall now remain (Pl. XXIX, bottom). Amenemhēt and his wife sat facing outwards as usual before the table of offerings, over which was written in blue the "shorter list." In front of this was a son in the act of performing the funerary rite; above his head, in coloured hieroglyphs, are the words:—

"His beloved son the scribe Amen . . . . . Recitation: An offering-which-the-King-gives to Geb and [to the gods] of the Northern Kingdom, thousands of . . . . . [for the scribe Amenemhēt, justified]."



Such abbreviated representations of the funerary rite are obviously demanded in this position, and are quite usual.<sup>3</sup>

The first words of the band of ceiling-inscription (Pl. XXIX) run as follows:—

"An offering-which-the-King-gives to Osiris, the great god, lord of majesty . . . . ."

## 8.—THE BURIAL-CHAMBER.

The architectural features of the Hypogeum or underground portion of the tomb have been sufficiently described in the last chapter (see p. 11). Here we have only to deal with the inscriptions and paintings of the actual Burial-chamber (see the plan, Pl. XXXIV). Save for the interruptions occasioned by the door and the niche in the W. wall,<sup>4</sup> and for a few vignettes hereafter to be described, the four walls are uniformly treated throughout. A horizontal band of blue hieroglyphs, starting on the S. wall and running continuously over all four walls, divides the latter vertically into two equal parts, which are both occupied by

<sup>1</sup> The error  for  arose from the scribe's misreading of his hieratic original.

<sup>2</sup> Emend *sdm-k* for *sdm*.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* the tombs of Ken (no. 59), Anena (no. 81), and Kenamūn (no. 93).

<sup>4</sup> The wall here called the west wall in accordance with the conventional mode of orientation lies actually almost due north.



religious texts in vertical columns written in cursive hieroglyphs; titles and beginnings of paragraphs are written in red (rubrics), but otherwise both the text and dividing lines are blue.

The texts themselves are for the most part drawn from the Book of the Dead, and constitute a typical and valuable specimen of the Theban recension as edited by Prof. Naville in his monumental work *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie* (Berlin, 1886).<sup>1</sup> Those who know the difficulties, textual and intrinsic, of the Book of the Dead will appreciate my abstention from giving a full translation and commentary in the present volume; it must suffice to identify the chapters and to give them the numbers they bear in Prof. Naville's edition. For the best translations available up to the present—in view of the extreme corruption of the text these must naturally be used with caution—reference must be made to the works of the late Sir Peter Lepage Renouf<sup>2</sup> and of Dr. Budge.<sup>3</sup>

Besides excerpts from the Book of the Dead there are also, on the upper half of the S. wall, some extracts from the Pyramid Texts, those very ancient funereal writings that have been found on the walls of the pyramids of the kings of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. As to the difficulties and critical problems connected with these, the same remarks apply as in the case of the texts from the Book of the Dead, and here too it must suffice to identify the separate formulae in accordance with the latest critical edition, namely that of Prof. Kurt Sethe (*Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*, Leipzig, 1908).

Let us start with the S. wall, as it is at the extreme W. end of this that begins the long horizontal band of inscription running round the entire room. For the hieroglyphic text of this the reader must consult successively Pls. XXXVIII, XXXVII, XLIII, XLII, XLI, XL, XXXIX, XLV, XLIV; the formula does not seem to occur elsewhere, and may be translated as follows:—


“Recited by the scribe who reckons the grain of Amūn, Amenemhēt, the justified, begotten of the worthy Dhutmōse, the justified, born of the lady of the house Antef, [the justified. O] ye gods who are in the Netherworld, who open unto the great soul, and who praise Re-in-his-snake-coil at his appearances, (and who praise) him-who-is-in-the-Bark-of-the-night when heaven receives him in Manu, and his Majesty sails in Ur-nes; unto you speaks Rē: Glory to your glorified beings, transformed be [your] transformations . . . . . your . . . . .; good is what ye do for the Majesty of Rē, profitable is what ye speak on behalf of him-who-is-in-his-snake-coil,<sup>4</sup> according as ye profit the soul of the scribe who reckons the grain of Amūn, Amenemhēt the deceased, and his corpse prospers in the Netherworld, and (according as) he makes transformations to his heart's content and has at his command the meals of the gods and is nourished from the table of the Sole Lord, and (according as) he endures in his Castle in the Sacred Land and his desire is sated to the full with good things like those Masters-of-things who continue to live for ever to the bounds of eternity; for the scribe Amenemhēt is one of those Revered-ones, he did right while he existed upon earth, his hatred was of falsity and he did it not; he ate not the abomination of the gods. May these gods cause to remain and be glorious, endure and be strong, this monument of what he did which [he] made(?),<sup>5</sup> may his name be stable upon it, and may there be illuminated for him the way of the place of darkness throughout the years of eternity.”

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Naville quotes the variants of some of these texts, which he knew from copies made by Dr. Stern, in the second volume of his work; the tomb is there indicated under the abbreviation *Ta*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, privately printed for the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1904.

<sup>3</sup> *The Book of the Dead*, 3 vols., London, 1898. The same author has given a new translation in the *Books on Egypt and Chaldaea*: BUDGE, *The Book of the Dead*, 2nd edition, 3 vols., London, 1909.

<sup>4</sup> *Imy mhn-f* as above.

<sup>5</sup> A fragment, mentioned again below, p. 107, bottom, gives the missing signs , which almost fill the available space. For a close parallel to these words, see Pl. VIII.



## NORTH WALL. (Pls. XXXIX, XL.)

*Upper and Lower Halves:—*

*Todt. ed.* NAV., ch. 17, "Beginning of the exaltations and glorifications, goings forth and comings in in the Netherworld, glorification in the beautiful West, existence in the train of Osiris, having satisfaction of the offerings of Onnophris, going forth by day, making all transformations that one wishes to make, playing draughts, and sitting in the bower, and going forth as a living soul." This chapter is in its fullest form, with the glosses, and fills the whole of the upper and six-sevenths of the lower register, in all 147 lines. Rubrics: ll. 1-4, the entire title down to *ḥhy*, except the names of Osiris and Onnophris in l. 2; l. 5, *m ḥt* to *t*; throughout the entire chapter the words *pṯr rf sw* (*st*), e.g. ll. 7, 10, 11, 13, and *ky ḏḏ*, e.g. ll. 10, 22 (bis), 26, 27; l. 52, *ts pḥr*; l. 63, *ṛ grt*; l. 65, *ṛ grt*; l. 70, *ṛ ḥry n ḏḏ-t tn*; l. 71, *ṛ grt*; l. 81, *ṛ grt*; l. 87, *ṛ grḥ pfy n ḥsb ʿwꜣyw*; l. 89, the word *ttfꜣy*, but the knives of the serpent-determinative black; l. 107, *ṛ grt šꜣ pw n sd-t*; l. 115, *pfy*; l. 127, *ṛ nw n bwt*; ll. 127-8, *ṛ scꜣ wꜣb ḥr ṛb msk-t*; ll. 128-9, from *ṛ rdy-nf* to *tꜣnm-t*; l. 133, *ts pḥr*; ll. 145-6, from *ṛ pshꜣ* to *wpt-ṛ*. The variants are given by NAVILLE. LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, III, 38e (see *Text.*, III, p. 267) gives ll. 1-37; the lacuna in ll. 12-22 was in those days less extensive than it is at present (see Pl. XLVI, top).

*Todt. ed.* NAV., ch. 18, no title. Rubrics: l. 1, *ṛ*; l. 6, *ṛ* (bis); l. 7, *ṛ*; l. 8, *r ḥftꜣw-f*; l. 9, *ṛ*. Continued on the E. wall, top.


## EAST WALL. (Pls. XLI, XLII, and XLIII.)

*Upper Half:—*

*Todt. ed.* NAV., ch. 18, continued from the N. wall, lower half. Rubrics: the words *ṛ* in ll. 11, 14, 15, 18, 19, 22, 25, 28, 29, 32, 36, 37, 40, and *ṛ* in ll. 12, 16, 20, 23, 26, 30, 35, 38; l. 42, *mḥ-t mt*; l. 43, *ḏḏ*; l. 44, *rꜣ pn n wꜣb*. Variants in NAVILLE.

*Todt. ed.* BUDGE, ch. 131, "a spell for continuing to exist beside Rē." Rubric: l. 1, the title, but excluding the name of Rē. This chapter is not given by Naville.

*Todt. ed.* BUDGE, ch. 188, here called "[a spell] for dwelling among the gods" (reading *ntrꜣw* ʿꜣyw for *ntr* ʿ in accordance with the title of *Todt. ed.* NAV., ch. 104). This chapter is published by Dr. Budge from the papyrus of Nu. Rubric: l. 1, [*rꜣ n*] *ḥmst ṛmytw*. Not used by Naville.

A chapter resembling *Todt. ed.* NAV., ch. 108, here entitled  "a spell for not dying again in the Netherworld." Rubric: the words of the title [*rꜣ n tm*] *mt*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed.* NAV., ch. 117, "a spell for setting forth in Rostau." This title is rubricized. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed.* NAV., chs. 96 and 97, "a spell for knowing the spirits of Heliopolis"; the same title in Naville's MS. *Aa bis*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed.* NAV., ch. 50, called by Budge ch. 50a to differentiate it from the version in the papyrus of Nu; the title here given is "a spell for setting forth in the West," which is rubricized. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed.* NAV., ch. 119, title lost; the letter *r*, which began title, rubricized. Not used by Naville.



*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 63*b*, "a spell for not burning in the water." Rubric: l. 1, *rī n tm wbl n mw in*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 8, "a spell for opening the West, and going forth by day." The version of this chapter is the same as that given by Budge from the papyrus of Any. The entire title rubricized. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 93, "a spell for not allowing the scribe Amenemhēt to be ferried over to the East in the Netherworld." The end of the chapter is omitted, there being no room for it on the wall. Rubric: l. 1, *rī n tm rdīt ḏstwr*. Not used by Naville.

*Lower Half:—*

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 95, "a spell for continuing to exist beside Thoth"; the words *rī n wnn r gs* in red. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 94, "the chapter of giving a water-pot to the scribe Amenemhēt." Rubric: the words *rī n rdīt ps n*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 66, "a spell for going forth by day." Rubric: *rī n prt m hrw in*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 119, "a spell for knowing the names of Rē" (*sic*, read "Osiris"). Rubric: *rī n rh rn-r n*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 102, "a spell for embarking in the boat of Rē." Rubric: *rī n hst r*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 38, "a spell for living on air in the Netherworld." Rubric: *rī n nḥ m tꜣw m ḥrt-ntr*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 132, "a spell for causing the scribe Amenemhēt to return to see his house." Rubrics: l. 1, *rī n rdīt-phr sw*; l. 3, [*dd*] *mdw*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 45, "a spell for not stinking in the Netherworld." This very short spell has been yet further abbreviated. Rubric: *rī n tm ḥw; m ḥrt-ntr*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 28, "a spell for not allowing the steward who reckons the corn, Amenemhēt, to be taken to the execution-place of the god in the Netherworld"; this is not the ordinary title given to this chapter. Only the first and last words of the spell are given. Rubric: *rī n tm rdīt it-tw*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 29, "a spell for not allowing the heart of the scribe Amenemhēt to be taken away from him in the Netherworld." The text is much the same as that in the papyrus of Any. Rubric: *rī n tm nḥm-tw ḥꜣty n*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 56, "a spell for breathing air in the Necropolis." Rubric: *rī n ssnt tꜣw m ḥrt-ntr*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 62, "a spell for drinking water in the Necropolis." Rubric: *rī n swrī mr m ḥrt-ntr in*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 28, "a spell for not allowing the heart of the scribe Amenemhēt to be taken from him in the Necropolis." The full text of this chapter. Rubric: *rī n to ḥꜣtī n*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 26, "a spell for giving the heart of the scribe Amenemhēt to him in the Necropolis." Rubric: *rī n rdīt ḥꜣty n*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 27, "a spell for not allowing the heart of the scribe Amenemhēt, &c., to be taken [from him in the Necropolis]." Rubric: *ri n tm rd'it it-tw h'ity n*. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 30*a*, title lost. Not used by Naville.

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 105, "[a spell for not taking the heart of the scribe] Amenemhēt from him in the Necropolis." This title is not the usual one. Rubric: l. 2, *dd-f*. Not used by Naville.



#### WEST WALL. (Pls. XLIV, XLV, XLVI.)

Immediately to the right of the two vignettes at the S. end of the wall, which belong to the S. wall and have been mentioned in connection with the same (see Pl. XXXVIII), the raised niche interrupts the continuity of the wall. The niche itself will be described later; here we need deal only with the text below the niche on the low portion of the wall between this and the floor. No good photograph of this being available, a facsimile has been made by Mr. Davies, which is given on Pl. XLVI. The text is an excerpt from the Funeral Liturgy as edited by SCHIAPARELLI, *Il libro dei Funerali*, vol. II, pp. 121-125, and was itself published by him *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 287.<sup>1</sup> The vignette to the left of the text represents a man crouching and holding a vase of unguent in one hand and a waxen torch in the other. The text may be rendered:—

"The scribe, reckoner of the grain of Amūn, Amenemhēt, begotten of the overseer of the ploughed lands, Dhutmōse, the justified, born of the lady of the house Antef. Twice pure is Osiris, the scribe, reckoner of the grain, Amenemhēt. To thy *ka*! Fumigated is thy head with sweet-smelling incense; the essence of the god is upon thy flesh. The two great ones, the two lords (*i.e.* Horus and Seth) who are in Upper Egypt, have purified thee. The incense comes, the barley-ear comes, the honour comes that went forth from the back of Osiris. Horus has fumigated him through his eye, Horus has censured him through his eye. O Osiris Amenemhēt . . . . ."

To the right of the niche recommence the texts from the Book of the Dead, in two superimposed halves as before; they continue over the entrance-door and end on the northernmost part of the wall. Only one chapter fills all this space, namely:—


*Todt. ed. NAV.*, ch. 125, "a spell for going down into the Broad Hall of the Truth-goddesses." The chapter consists of (i) an introduction, (ii) the confession, on the upper and lower halves of the wall between door and niche, (iii) the conclusion, beginning above the door and continuing on the upper half of the wall N. of door, and ending on the lower half of the latter; this conclusion is curtailed in order to allow room for (iv) the entire colophon, filling the remainder of the wall. Rubrics: (i) introduction, l. 1, from *ri* to *wsb-t*; l. 3, *dd-f*; (ii) confession, the words *i* and *n* (the negation) throughout; (iv) colophon, entirely red except l. 1, *dd mdw*; l. 5, *uswt*; and l. 6, the name of Osiris. Variants quoted by NAVILLE; LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler, Textband*, III, pp. 268-9, quotes considerable portions of the actual confession, which had suffered as much damage already in his time as is at present the case. A fragment found in clearing the hypogeum helps to complete the text of the confession, as follows: l. 5,

|| . . . . . || ; l. 6, || . . . . . || 

<sup>1</sup> Part of the same text has been read above on the north wall of the Shrine, see p. 97. For Middle Kingdom versions see BLACKMAN, *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 47 (1910), pp. 126-7.

## NICHE. (Pls. XXXV and XXXVI.)

The *Back Wall* of the niche (Pl. XXXVI) gives the text of—

*Todt. ed. NAV.*, chs. 141 and 142, “a spell for exalting the glorified one,” an abnormal title which Naville quotes still complete as . The vignette below represents the bull and five (at present four) cows, corresponding to the names following those of the gods of the Great Ennead in the text; l. 25 of the text contains a large omission. Used by Naville.

*Side-Walls* (Pl. XXXV).—These contain parallel scenes of Amenemhēt with wife and mother receiving offerings from a son, behind whom squat the other members of the family. The pictures were admirably painted, and in Lepsius' time were quite intact: the inscriptions are quoted LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, III, 38*g*, and again *Textband*, III, p. 266. The S. wall showed Amenemhēt, here described as


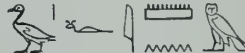
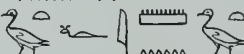
“The steward of the Vizier, the scribe, reckoner of the grain in the granary of divine offerings of Amūn, head of the weavers of Amūn, Amenemhēt,”

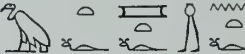
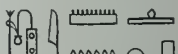
together with

“His wife, beloved of him of his desire, Amenbāket, the justified.”

They are seated before the usual table of offerings, beside which are heaped various kinds of food; the son clad in the leopard-skin stands before his parents, the right arm upraised with the customary gesture. Above him the words:—

“An offering-which-the-King-gives to Osiris the great god; offerings of bread and beer, cattle and fowl, and all things good and pure to your *ka*. His beloved son the scribe Amenemhēt.”

From Lepsius' work must be supplied the names of the children who squatted behind this son; they were (1)  “his son Amenūser”; (2)  “his son Amenemwaskhet”; and (3)  “his daughter Sitamūn.”

*North Wall*.—A precisely similar scene, except that the position of the figures is reversed; Amenemhēt and the lady who accompanies him must, in accordance with the rule, look eastward. Over Amenemhēt's head were the same titles as on the S. wall (see Lepsius), but his companion was his mother,  “his mother beloved of him, Antef, the justified.” The son who here makes the offerings is a different son,  “the scribe Amenhotpe,” and the squatting children are also different: (1) “his son beloved of him, Amenmōse, the justified,” (2) “his son beloved of him . . . . Amenhotpe,” and (3) “his daughter beloved of him, Amenemhab.”

In conclusion, the various religious texts inscribed on the walls of the Burial-chamber may here fitly be summarized in tabular form, together with references to the Plates on which they can be found:—

*Pyramidentexte* (ed. SETHE).

220 + 221 + 222

356 + 357

364

593

677

PLATE.

XXXVII

XXXVIII

XXXVIII

XXXVII

XXXVIII



<i>Todtenbuch</i> (ed. NAVILLE).	PLATE.
8	XLIII
17	XXXIX—XL ( <i>cf.</i> too XLVI)
18	XL—XLI
26	XLII
27	XLIII
28 abridged	XLII
28	XLII
29	XLII
30A	XLIII
38	XLI
45	XLII
50	XLIII
56	XLII
62	XLII
63B	XLIII
65	XXXVIII
66	XLI
80	XXXVII
93	XLIII
94	XLI
95	XLI
96-97	XLII
102	XLI
105	XLIII
<i>Cf.</i> 108	XLII
117	XLII
119	XLIII
125	XLIV—XLV
131 (Budge)	XLII
132	XLI
133	XXXVII
134	XXXVII—XXXVIII
141-142	XXXVI
188 (Budge)	XLIII

SCHIAPARELLI, *Il libro dei Funerali*; extract corresponding to vol. II, pp. 121-125, Pl. XLVI.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE CONTENTS OF THE BURIAL-CHAMBER. CONCLUSION.

OUR task is still incomplete. We have accompanied the artist who designed the wall-paintings through the three upper chambers of the tomb, where the chief stages of Amenemhēt's career have in turn been illustrated for our instruction—his brief earthly span, the acute but quickly vanquished crisis of physical death, and then the beatified state for which he anticipated a never-ending round of banquets and festal celebrations. We have even ignored the prohibition to penetrate beyond the Shrine, and have descended into the Netherworld itself, there to read upon the walls the incantations by which Amenemhēt sought to secure freedom of action, and to gain mastery over all hostile influences. But Amenemhēt himself we have not found; and his absence, together with the disappearance of his funerary equipment, stultifies the entire purpose of the tomb, rendering meaningless that careful progression of the paintings which points so unmistakably to the presence of a mummified Amenemhēt somewhere behind the walls of the Shrine. Our task cannot be said to be complete until the Burial-chamber has been reconstituted in the imagination as the last mourners left it, and as it was found by the first robbers who ventured to disturb Amenemhēt's repose.



Let us accompany these robbers on their predatory quest. Having emptied the shaft of its sand, and uncovered the door to the Burial-chamber, they find this bolted and besmeared with mud on which a priestly seal has been repeatedly stamped. The impression shows the recumbent figure of Anubis (the vigilant deity who takes upon himself the external form of a watch-dog) mounted as guard over nine prisoners disposed in three rows of three.<sup>1</sup> These prisoners represent the nine races of mankind—the Nine Bows, as the Egyptians called them<sup>2</sup>; so that the magic significance of the seal is that Anubis will protect the deceased against every possible human intruder.

The door is easily forced, and the robbers make their way into the Burial-chamber. Here the profusion of funerary furniture and offerings is such that an immediate estimate of the plunder is out of the question. Hardly visible by the scanty light of the oil-lamps, the far end of the room may be guessed rather than seen to contain the coffins of Amenemhēt and his wife, one in front of the other, near and parallel to the southern wall, the head-end being toward the west.<sup>3</sup> The figures of Isis and Nephthys painted at the two extremities of the

<sup>1</sup> See CARTER-NEWBERRY, *Tomb of Thoutmosis IV*, pp. ix, xxx; QUIBELL, *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu*, p. ii; TH. DAVIS, *Tomb of Queen Tiji*, p. 8. Similar sealings, DARESSY, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, nos. 24089, 24179; the seal for stamping the same, *ibid.*, 24109.

<sup>2</sup> See MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, ch. 2.

<sup>3</sup> In the Middle Kingdom the sarcophagus lay north and south, the mummy reposing on its left side with its face towards the east; see SCHÄFER, *Priestergräber*, pp. 16–17. At Thebes in the Eighteenth Dynasty such evidence as is available seems to show that the mummy lay east and west, the head being at the west end; this at least is true of the tomb of Iuya (QUIBELL, *op. cit.*, pp. iii, iv, though curiously contradicted on p. 2) and in the tombs of

southern wall may be dimly discerned guarding respectively the feet and the head of the Osirianized dead (Pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII).<sup>1</sup> The outer coffin<sup>2</sup> of Amenemhēt is a large box of rectangular shape with vaulted lid ; possibly it may be found to stand upon a sled. The ornamentation of the outer coffins at this period was sober enough, the woodwork being covered with lustrous black pitch, upon which the figures and bands of hieroglyphs stand forth boldly in gold-leaf or yellow paint. The two short ends show Isis and Nephthys standing or kneeling on the sign for "gold" (). The lid and long sides are divided into panels by short transverse lines of inscription branching to right and left from a central longitudinal line. This scheme, which is that of the inner coffins also, obviously imitates the external linen wrappings of the mummy itself. The longitudinal line of inscription bisecting the lid contains that same prayer to Nut, the Sky-goddess, which we have read upon the ceiling of the Hall (Pl. XXX [A]), and accordingly the extended image of Nut is sometimes pictured on the inner side of the lid. The panels, formed in the manner described on the long sides of the outer coffin, contain each the figure of some god—Thoth or Anubis, or one of the four sons of Horus.

The inner coffins, of which the usual number is two, conform to the general decorative plan that has been traced for the outer coffin, but are mummiform, that is to say, they are modelled roughly to the human shape, with elaborate gilded faces and hands just protruding from a long winding-sheet. In rich burials the wig and sockets for the eyes are incrustated with costly stones and glass, and a gorgeous necklace of multicoloured beads, painted or of inlaid work, rests upon the breast.

The mummies of Amenemhēt and his lady repose within their innermost coffins, closely swathed bundles of the finest linen bandages. A garland or two are observed near the heads, placed there in memory of the wreaths given to Osiris on his triumphant exit from the judgment-hall of Heliopolis.<sup>3</sup> The robbers are little likely to respect the mummies themselves, for it is upon these that they may hope to find the jewellery that is their principal objective. Beneath an almost interminable series of wrappings they will, if their hopes are fulfilled, at last come upon the pectoral of gold and precious stones, discover the rings intact upon their

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Amenophis II, Tuthmosis IV, and Haremhab. Perhaps, however, the change of position is only apparent, and due to some confusion between the real and the conventional modes of orientation (for the latter see p. 11). The tomb of Amenemhēt makes this explanation probable. In the upper tomb the Egyptians themselves clearly accepted the conventional mode of orientation, since the gods of Upper Egypt are invoked on the left wall of the Passage, and those of Lower Egypt on its right wall. It therefore seemed proper to retain the same method of orientation for the Hypogeum, all the more so since this arrangement allots the Niche to the west wall, where we should expect to find it. But the "west wall," conventionally so called, is actually very nearly due north, so that strictly the sarcophagus lay north and south, as in the Middle Kingdom, and not east and west, as stated in the text.




<sup>1</sup> See SCHÄFER, *op. cit.*, p. 17, for the position of Isis at the foot-end of the sarcophagus; in the Eighteenth Dynasty and after, the goddesses are usually depicted on the sarcophagi in their own appropriate places.

<sup>2</sup> The following descriptions are principally based upon the burials described by QUIBELL, *op. cit.*, and DARESSY, *op. cit.*; Iuya and Mahirpre seem to be the only nobles of the period whose funerary equipment has come down to us more or less complete. The plan in QUIBELL, *op. cit.*, p. iv, is valuable as showing the relative positions of the various objects found.

<sup>3</sup> The "wreath of justification" (*msḥ n ms'hrw*) strongly reminds us of the "crown of righteousness" (2 Tim. iv. 8), of which indeed it is in all probability the ultimate origin. The "formula for the wreath of justification," ch. 19 of the *Book of the Dead* (ed. LEPSIUS), is a late chapter, but the phrase was familiar already in the New Kingdom; cf. *Louvre*, A 66; *Pap. Turin*, 123, 1. See too W. PLEYTE, *La couronne de la justification* in *Actes du 6me Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Leyden, 1885.



victims' fingers, and be able to confiscate even the decorations which Pharaoh had conferred upon them during their lifetime.<sup>1</sup>

We ourselves, whose intrusion is actuated, it is to be hoped, more by an intellectual curiosity than by mere lust of possession, will rather seek to concentrate our attention upon the talismans which hang around the corpses' necks.<sup>2</sup> These are three in number—the *dad* () of gold, the girdle-tie () of red jasper, and the scarab or dung-beetle () of green basalt. For an explanation of the meaning of these talismans we must consult the roll of papyrus which may possibly be discovered in one of the boxes in some corner of the room.<sup>3</sup> That papyrus contains the so-called Book of the Dead, a collection of multifarious incantations intended to supply all the wants of their dead owners in the Netherworld. The separate incantations or "chapters" consecrated to the *dad*, the girdle-tie, and the scarab show clearly enough that these were originally designed to replace or to stimulate the functions of the dead man's back, his blood, and his heart respectively.

(Ch. CLV.)

*"Formula for a dad of gold, to be placed on the neck of this glorious one.*

*"Thy back unto thee, thou inert one!<sup>4</sup> Thy vertebrae unto thee, thou inert one! Raise (?) thyself upon thy side. I place for thee water beneath thee; behold, I have brought to thee a dad of gold that thou mayst have joy thereof.*

*"This formula is to be spoken over a dad of gold, suspended from the boughs of a sycamore, and moistened with the sap of shoots (?); then to be placed on the neck of the glorious one. (Thereby) he enters in through the doors of the Netherworld as one having power, none repelling him, none questioning him of the silent ones; and he shows himself on the day of the beginning of the year, even as the followers of Osiris."*

(Ch. CLVI.)

*"Formula for a girdle-tie of red jasper, to be given to the glorious one.*

*"To be recited by N, justified. Thy blood to thee, O Isis! Thy potency to thee, O Isis! Thy magic to thee, O Isis! A charm for the protection of this great one; beware lest wrong be done him.*

*"This formula is to be spoken over a girdle-tie of red jasper, anointed with the sap of shoots (?), suspended from the boughs of a sycamore, and then placed on the neck of this glorious one. He for whom this is done, the potency of Isis shall protect his flesh, so that Horus son of Isis shall rejoice over him, when he sees him. No road shall be difficult to him, be his direction towards heaven or be his direction towards earth. A spell proven on countless occasions!"*

(Ch. XXX B.)

*"There having been made a scarab of green basalt,<sup>5</sup> embellished with fine gold, it is placed within the*

<sup>1</sup> For these see SETHE, *Altägyptische Ordensbezeichnungen in Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 48 (1910), pp. 143–45.

<sup>2</sup> See the photograph of a mummy of Dyn. XXI with the amulets *in situ*, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. I, Pl. xxxii, fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. that from the tomb of Iuya, published by NAVILLE, *The Funeral Papyrus of Iouiya*. It is upon this papyrus that the translations below are mainly based, with some readings adopted from elsewhere. The rubric of Ch. XXX B is taken from Naville's MS. *Pf*. My versions will be found to differ considerably from those of Budge and Naville; the purpose of these amulets is usually misstated, and in fact does not seem to have been clearly recognized hitherto.

<sup>4</sup> Epithet of Osiris.

<sup>5</sup> The real nature of the stone *n-mh-f*, "it-floats-not," is not established, but it is plausible to identify it with the dark-green stone which is popularly (probably wrongly) called green basalt. On the Kennard board with amulets the words *n mhn* stand over a heart-scarab possibly of nephrite; see G. MÖLLER, *Musterbrett eines Amulettfabrikanten*, in *Ämliche Berichte aus den königl. Kunstsammlungen*, XXXIV (Berlin, 1912), col. 24. Iuya's mummy was of green felspar decorated with gold.

breast of a man, and the Opening-of-the-mouth is made for it, and it is anointed with myrrh, and these words are spoken as incantations:—

“O my heart of my mother, O my heart of my mother! O my breast of my upgrowing, O my breast of my upgrowing! Stand not forth against me as witness, confront me not in the assembly of judgment, incline thou not against me in the presence of the Keeper of the Balance. Thou art my *ka* that is in my body, the Khnum who prospereth my limbs. Go forth towards happiness, and prepare (?) for us there. Make not my name to stink with the nobles who make men into heaps (?). (So it were) best for us, and best for the hearer (of pleas), and joy to the verdict-giver. Speak no lies against me before the god; behold, that which thou discernest is!”

The mummified bodies themselves next command our attention.<sup>1</sup> For all the trouble bestowed on them by the embalmers they are mere shrivelled masses of blackened tissue, hanging shapelessly upon the skeletons. In Tuthmoside times mummification still aimed at nothing higher than the prevention of complete dissolution; the attempt to reproduce, by the help of padding, the original plumpness of the living body is a development of somewhat later date. But even as early as this the brain may have been removed through the nostrils, as described by Herodotus, and replaced by linen plugs. Similar plugs too have been forced in behind the orbits, the eyelids being pulled down over this packing material. The body was cleansed through an incision made in the left flank, later to be covered by a plate of gold-foil. The heart was left in its place, whence the hieroglyphic stelae which state that the deceased has still his heart with him (above, p. 56) do no more than justice to the real facts of the case. Balls of coarse linen and masses of various resinous and fatty preservatives were inserted into the body cavity, most of the inner organs having previously been removed. Cedar-oil was a very important element in the materials used for embalming, as were also myrrh and sweet-smelling gums of various kinds.<sup>2</sup> Before embalming, the body was steeped in a solution of salt,<sup>3</sup> where it may have remained for no small part of the seventy days assigned for the completion of the embalmers' labours.

The larger viscera were extracted from the body and wrapped in separate mummiform packages of their own. These were then placed in the four so-called Canopic jars,<sup>4</sup> human-headed vessels of alabaster, each head representing one of the four sons of Horus.<sup>5</sup> The liver of the deceased would appear to have been identified with Imsety, the lungs with Hepy, the stomach with Dua-mutef, and the intestines with Qebef-snewef.<sup>6</sup> Since the lids of the jars were intended to portray the features of these four genii (whence the Nineteenth Dynasty

<sup>1</sup> See the article *Egyptian Mummies*, by G. ELLIOT SMITH, in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. I, pp. 189 foll., where technical references will be found. The Egyptian Ritual of Embalment is known to us only from two late manuscripts; the only serious treatment is that of MASPERO (*Quelques Papyrus du Louvre*), and his translation has apparently not been used by those who have examined the actual remains.

<sup>2</sup> See MASPERO, *op. cit.* For the importance of cedar-oil compare the passage GARDINER, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Pl. 3, ll. 6–8: “Men sail not northward to Byblos in these days. What shall we do for cedar for our mummies . . . , with the oil of which the great ones are embalmed?”

<sup>3</sup> According to LUCAS (*Preservative Materials used by the Ancient Egyptians in Embalming*), after embalming, at least in some cases; he also holds that the bath was of natron, not of salt. The views represented in the text are those of Professor ELLIOT SMITH. See further LOUIS REUTER, *De l'Embaumement avant et après Jésus-Christ*, Paris, 1912.

<sup>4</sup> For the Canopic jars see BUDGE, *The Mummy*, pp. 194 foll., and REISNER, *The Dated Canopic Jars of the Gizeh Museum* in *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 37 (1899), pp. 61 foll.

<sup>5</sup> See ERMAN, *Ägyptische Religion*,<sup>2</sup> p. 43.

<sup>6</sup> See G. ELLIOT SMITH, *Heart and Reins*, in *Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*, vol. I (1911), pp. 45 foll.



and later will depict them with the heads of man, monkey, dog, and hawk respectively), it might have been expected that the jars themselves would be equated with their contents. Such, however, was not the case; the jars are four different goddesses, the function of each of whom it is to protect that one of the genii who is within herself. Thus the guardian of Imsety is Isis, the guardian of Hepy is Nephthys, the guardian of Dua-mutef is Neith, and the guardian of Qebeli-Snewef is Selket.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions are uniform in character, and one example will suffice: on the jar containing the liver (Imsety) we read:—

“Spoken by Isis: I clasp my two arms about him who is in me. I extend my protection to Imsety who is in me, even the Osiris N.”

The square chest for the Canopic jars stands on runners, like the outer coffin, and the runners face west. The jars inside are carefully arranged so as to correspond with the representations on the exterior side-panels. Here the four genii are shown standing, with short inscriptions indicating their protective function. The front pair is Imsety and Hepy, to right and left respectively; the hinder pair consists similarly of Dua-mutef and Qebel-snewef. On the front panel are Isis and Nephthys, while Selket and Neith occupy the back panel; and it is so contrived that each goddess should be adjacent to the particular genius whom she protects.

It is a strangely heterogeneous collection of objects that constitutes the remainder of the funeral equipment. On closer inspection they will be seen to fall under two distinct categories. The first category comprises all those things which the deceased had required for his use in his earthly existence, and which, since the second existence was to be as far as possible an exact replica of the first, he would continue to require in the future. A very rapid survey will suffice. There is household furniture of all kinds, beds and chairs, stools and boxes for storing things; articles of toilet, such as mirrors and *kohl*-jars, sandals and wigs; things for outdoor pursuits, walking-sticks, bows and arrows, and actually a complete chariot; and then, again, various means of indoor recreation, musical instruments, draught-boards, and the like. Nor must we forget to mention the abundant stores provided for Amenemhēt's dinner-table. Almost all the vessels required for the banquet presupposed by the greater list of offerings are present; there are the alabaster vases for the seven sacred oils used in the preliminary anointing; and, indeed, the joints and dainties themselves are present also, wrapped in linen rags and probably embalmed by exactly the same preservative methods as the mummy of their possessor.

In what way is all this elaborate outfit related to the funerary cult, as practised in the upper tomb? The question is not quite easy to answer, but I am inclined to think that the two are entirely independent of each other. The Egyptians were fully aware of the risks to which even the most well-equipped mummy was exposed, and they did not scruple to devise half a dozen different ways of guaranteeing the satisfaction of its needs. The burial of a complete banquet together with the deceased was one way, and probably the oldest

<sup>1</sup> The logic of the situation seems to demand a myth according to which the four genii were the children, not of Horus, but of Osiris by the four goddesses in question. Traces of such a myth may perhaps be found in Ch. CLI of the Book of the Dead, where each genius says to Osiris, “I am thy son,” Dua-mutef being explicitly identified with Horus. However, the predominating myth is to the effect that the four genii are the children of Horus (already *Pyr.*, 1548); why Champollion and many of his successors called them the children of Osiris is unknown to me. In Ch. CXII of the Book of the Dead, Horus is the father, and Isis the mother, of all four.



way, in which he was to be made immune against hunger and thirst. The funerary cult was a second method of achieving the same result. The recitation of the funerary formula was a simpler, and therefore probably less reliable, means to which men often had resort. Finally, the pictures on the tomb-walls afforded them a last desperate hope at which to clutch.

A number of the objects buried together with Amenemhēt were not of the immediately useful description, but have their *raison d'être* in some superstitious purpose. This is the second category to which reference was made above, and it shows some overlapping with the first. There are sometimes found, for example, dummy vessels of wood instead of the actual vessels of stone or metal employed on earth; or models of utensils which the supernaturalistic view of things considered to be equal to the originals. Here, however, we must confine our attention to a series of objects less obvious in their meaning. Most curious of all of these, and moreover attracting the eye because of their size, are the so-called Osiris-beds, of which there will be found one for Amenemhēt and another for Baktamūn his spouse. The virtuous dead, it must be remembered, were identified with Osiris, and in one of his aspects<sup>1</sup> Osiris was a corn-spirit. For this reason the sprouting of barley would necessarily, by the laws of sympathetic magic, tend to promote the resurrection of the deceased. A wooden frame was therefore placed in the Burial-chamber, and over this a papyrus mat was laid. Above this, again, was stretched a double cover of coarse cloth, stitched down the side. A bed of mould having been placed upon the cloth, and modelled to the shape of the body of Osiris, barley was planted therein. When the shoots had grown to a height of about 15 cm. a doubled cloth was laid over them and the whole was lapped round with a series of strips of coarse linen.<sup>2</sup> The length of the Osiris-bed thus made is more than a metre and a half.

These Osiris-beds deposited in the Burial-chamber, like the mummified banquet above described, are doubtless precautionary substitutes for others which the dead man hoped to obtain as the result of periodical observances celebrated in the upper tomb. In the latter half of the fourth month of inundation similar Osiris-beds were made<sup>3</sup> in the temples of all the principal towns of Egypt, and in the tombs, which were temples of the dead, the same ceremony seems to have been simultaneously performed by those *ka*-priests who took their responsibilities more seriously than the rest. The instructions for this funerary observance are vouchsafed to us in the tomb of the "divine father Neferhotpe" (no. 50)<sup>4</sup> :—

"Fourth month of inundation, day eighteen, the day of moistening the barley, and spreading a bed for the Osiris Neferhotpe, from this day forward until the twenty-fifth day, eight days in all.

"Formula for enchanting the bed :—

"O Osiris Neferhotpe, thou art the lion, thou art the double-lion, thou art Horus who tends his father, thou art those four gods, the glorious spirits of (?) wine and milk, who acclaim and make dancing, and who bring water in the arms of their father (*sic*). O Osiris Neferhotpe, raise thyself upon thy left side; Geb openeth for thee thine eyes, he straighteneth thy thighs. Adjusted (?) for thee is thy heart of thy mother, thy breast of thy true self. O Osiris Neferhotpe!"

<sup>1</sup> Whether primitively or derivatively is a moot point; see a review of FRAZER, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*,<sup>3</sup> to appear in vol. II of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

<sup>2</sup> See QUIBELL, *op. cit.*, p. 35; DARESSY, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–26.

<sup>3</sup> See FRAZER, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 86 foll.

<sup>4</sup> The text has been rather inaccurately published in *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique du Caire*, vol. V, *Tombeau de Neferhotpe*, Pl. 3,

From the same tomb we learn that similar Osiris-beds were made from the 23rd to the 30th of the third month of summer; the incantation for this festival, which is puzzling from several points of view, runs as follows:—

“O Osiris Neferhotpe, thy mother Isis gave birth to thee on this day.”<sup>1</sup>

Osiris-beds are by no means of universal occurrence even in richly equipped tombs, and in the tomb of Amenemhēt they may perhaps have been looked for in vain. Certain it is at all events that *shawabti*-figures were found there, for these are present at this period even in the humbler burials.<sup>2</sup> The *shawabti*-figures are small portrait-figures of the deceased, originally of *shawabti*-wood, tightly swathed so that, but for their size, they might easily be mistaken for the mummy. The function that they have to fulfil is to act as substitutes for the dead man, if he should be called upon in the Netherworld to perform any of the irksome outdoor tasks to which from time immemorial every Egyptian subject was liable. The instructions given to the figures are recorded in Ch. VI of the Book of the Dead, which is often inscribed upon them; an early version runs as follows:—

“O *Shawabti*, if the Osiris N be appointed in the Netherworld to perform any of the tasks that are performed yonder, even as a man is bounden, namely, to cultivate the fields, to flood the meadows, or to carry the sand of the East to the West, then speak thou, ‘Here am I.’”

In the tomb of Iuya, model hoes, a model brick-mould, and a model yoke with baskets were found, all intended to supply the *shawabtis* with the requisite implements for the *corvées* which might be imposed upon them.<sup>3</sup> In the Eighteenth Dynasty the number of the figures varies from a dozen or so to several score; later they become yet more numerous, so much so indeed that there might be a separate one for every day in the year. Within the Burial-chamber the *shawabtis* lie in sarcophagi of their own, or else dwell in model shrines of painted wood, examples of which are not uncommon in our museums.

Model boats have been found in the tombs of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II, but not apparently in private tombs of the same period.<sup>4</sup> It would be tedious here to enumerate the exceptional objects of magical significance that the tomb of Amenemhēt may or may not have contained. It remains, however, to describe the four bricks with figures which were placed beside the four walls of the Burial-chamber, two of these bricks having actually been discovered in the *débris*.<sup>5</sup> There is a complete set of both figures and bases in the British Museum,

<sup>1</sup> No importance is to be attached to the word Osiris here, which is a mere *epitheton constans*. The reference is clearly to the resurrection of Osiris in the form of his son Horus. However, the birthday of Horus is elsewhere placed on the 28th day of the fourth month of winter; see *Mélanges d'Archéologie égyptienne*, vol. II (1874), pp. 299 foll.

<sup>2</sup> The best account of these yet given is that of SPIEGELBERG and NEWBERRY, *Report on some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, pp. 26–29. See too ERMAN, *Aegyptische Religion*,<sup>2</sup> Index s.v. *Uschebtifiguren*.

<sup>3</sup> QUIBELL, *op. cit.*, nos. 51134–63. There are two sets in the British Museum, both of copper (those of Iuya are partly wood, partly copper); one of the two, belonging to a certain Heqreshu, was found together with the *shawabtis* by Prof. Petrie; see PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, vol. I, Pl. 33. For other sets see RANDALL-MACIVER and MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pls. 38, 39, 40, 45.

<sup>4</sup> In the Middle Kingdom there is usually a boat for sailing upstream and another for sailing downstream. These are probably “precautionary substitutes” for a journey to Abydos, which besides being undertaken in reality (originally) in the days immediately preceding burial (above, p. 48), was apparently the purpose of an annual ceremony to be performed in the tombs during the first month of the year. See the tomb of Neferhotpe (*loc. cit.*) for the texts relating to this.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 24.



which is probably unique;<sup>1</sup> the figures are rare, but the brick bases have often been found. They are of unbaked brick, and an incantation is usually scratched upon them in hieroglyphic or hieratic characters. The incantations for the four figures are included in Ch. CLI of the Book of the Dead, which is a graphic representation of a burial-chamber combined with appropriate formulae for the objects it contains. Another version of the same incantations, with title and rubrics describing their use, is found in the papyrus of Nu,<sup>2</sup> and a third one has been recently published from the papyrus of Iuya.<sup>3</sup> It is the last of these which I here translate, with some borrowings from elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> The title reads:—

“What is written as a hidden thing in the Netherworld.”

The first figure to be described is that which stood up against the north wall, and is a small wooden *shawabti*-like statuette. The text and rubric run as follows:—

“O thou who comest to cast down, I let thee not cast down. O thou who comest to push aside, I let thee not push aside. I will cast thee down, I will push thee aside. I am for the protection of the Osiris N.

*“This formula is to be spoken over a brick of unbaked clay, in which this formula has been graven, and a hole made for it in the wall of the nether chamber;<sup>5</sup> and a figure of im-wood seven fingers in height, whose mouth has been opened,<sup>6</sup> is fastened on this brick in the northern wall, its face towards the south, and it is covered up.”*

The British Museum figure might, I should judge, be of about the size mentioned in the rubric, namely 0.127 m. A fine example from the tomb of Tuthmosis IV is, however, half as large again;<sup>7</sup> according to Prof. Newberry's indications, it is of date-palm wood, but whether *im* is really a name of the date-palm does not appear to be established.

The second brick, which is that belonging to the southern wall, carried a reed with a wick inside it. The British Museum example seems to be unique.

“It is I who hinder the sand from choking the secret chamber, and who repel that one who would repel him with the desert-flame. I have set aflame the desert(?), I have caused the path to be mistaken. I am for the protection of the Osiris N.

*“This formula is to be spoken over a brick of unbaked clay, [on which this formula has been graven], and [in the midst of which] has been fastened a reed kindled with fire. A hole is made for it in the south wall, its face towards the north, and it is covered up.”*

This magic torch, beside its general protective purpose, seems to have been specially designed to prevent the Burial-chamber from becoming blocked with sand.

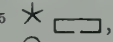
The eastern brick bears a figure of the dog Anubis, made, like the brick itself, of

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 41545 to 41548: see *Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, London, 1909, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Conveniently reprinted in BUDGE, *Book of the Dead*, London, 1898, pp. 309–312.

<sup>3</sup> See NAVILLE, *op. cit.*, Pls. xii–xiii.

<sup>4</sup> Various examples of the inscribed bricks themselves will be found in QUIBELL, *op. cit.*; DARESSY, *op. cit.*; and in the other publications relating to Mr. Theodore Davis's excavations in the Bibân el Mulûk. See too NAVILLE, *Les Quatre Stèles orientées du Musée de Marseille*, Lyon, 1880.

<sup>5</sup> , the regular word for “the Netherworld.”

<sup>6</sup> Note that as in the case of the heart-scarab (above, p. 113) the statue does not become really efficacious until life has been infused into it by the magical passes known as the ceremony of Opening the Mouth (see further above, pp. 57–9).


<sup>7</sup> See CARTER and NEWBERRY, *Tomb of Thoutmosis IV*, p. 9.



unbaked clay. There is a finely modelled example from the tomb of Tuthmosis IV, in addition to the one in the British Museum.

"Thou watchful one, watchful (too) is he-who-is-on-his-mountain (Anubis). Thy moment is repelled. I have repelled thy moment of rage. I am for the protection of Osiris.<sup>1</sup>

*"This formula is to be spoken over an Anubis of unbaked clay, sprinkled (?) with incense, and fastened on a brick of clay on which this formula has been graven. A hole is made for it in the east wall, its face towards the west, and it is covered up."*

Beside the west wall was placed a *dad* () of (blue) glaze and gold; the British Museum example is of blue glaze, but shows no trace of gold.

"O thou who comest seeking, whose steps are turned backward, whose face is hidden, but (?) who reveals his hiding-place. I am he who stands behind the *dad*, and it is I who stood behind the *dad* on the day of repelling slaughter.

*"This formula is to be spoken over a dad of glaze, the cross-bars of which are fine gold, which has been covered with royal linen, and oil allowed to fall on it. It is fastened on a brick of unbaked clay, [on which has been graven this formula], and a hole is made for it in the western wall, its face towards the east, and it is covered up with earth that has been under an 'aru-trec."*

The chapter concludes with a sentence which seems to describe the purpose of all the four figures, not the last one alone:—

"(This is) to repel the enemy of Osiris, in whatever form he may come."

What, finally, have we learnt from the tomb of Amenemhēt about Egyptian conceptions of the future life? What did the Theban noble think would become of himself when he passed, to use his own expression, "yonder"? And what, expressed in a single sentence, signifies this lavish adornment of the tomb and this accumulation of funereal furniture? Alas! the very formulation of these precise questions does but remove us one step farther from the Egyptian standpoint. It is not even safe to state, in broad terms, that the fundamental thought was the belief in immortality. Did, in point of fact, the Egyptians really believe in immortality? Were not their ever-shifting affirmations concerning the state of the dead rather the reflexion of an unconfessed ignorance betraying itself in conjecture? and were not the multifarious rites that were performed on behalf of the mummy just so many despairing efforts to stave off an ineluctable doom—the expression of a firm purpose, if die one must, at least to die fighting? There is evidence enough to make it certain that the fear of complete dissolution was a very real fear indeed.<sup>2</sup>

If pressed to define, in few words, the principle underlying mummification, and the cause that produced tombs of such magnificence, one can merely point to the Egyptian's passionate desire of immortality, his keen zest for life, and his abhorrence of the prospect of death.<sup>3</sup> So far as beliefs are concerned, no concise answer can be given; we have to deal with a highly complex and essentially mystical frame of mind which was ready to accept any explanations,

<sup>1</sup> Other texts read: "Thou art vigilant, and he-who-is-on-his-mountain is vigilant"; and "the moment of him who rages."

<sup>2</sup> See further my article *Life and Death (Egyptian)* in HASTINGS' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

<sup>3</sup> The address often made on Egyptian stelae to "all you who love life and hate death" strikes the very keynote of Egyptian funerary conceptions.

no matter how contradictory, and to have resort to any practices, no matter how absurd, so long as it might be allowed to cherish its ideal in tranquillity. A more philosophically gifted people might have sought to justify their aspirations by argument and reasoning, and by the construction of a detailed and consistent theory to account for felt difficulties or for objections that might be raised; the Egyptian sages<sup>1</sup> smothered their doubts in the variety of the conjectures to which they listened, naïvely assuming some high mystical authority behind statements so mutually at variance and therefore so unacceptable to their private judgments. Face to face with a mental attitude such as this, all we can do is to enumerate the various forms under which its imaginings manifested themselves, laying weight upon those among them that seem more stable and persistent than the others.

Of Amenemhēt's soul or souls we hear but little; his *bai* is in the sky, while his corpse is in the Netherworld, so one passage informs us (Pl. XXX[B]); but in the old prayer that still retains its popularity it is Amenemhēt himself who wishes to be placed among the stars in the firmament (Pl. XXX[A]). In another place a distinction is made between the "living soul" and the "corpse that rests within the tomb" (Pl. XXVII[1]); and elsewhere, again, the *bai* and the *ka* are spoken of as modes of existence of the deceased, as of divine nature and as somewhat external to him (see above, p. 99). The *ka* is also occasionally named in connection with the gift of offerings (*e.g.* Pls. V, XXXI), but without emphasis being attached to it.

Too much stress has doubtless been laid hitherto on the animistic side of the future life, as if the theory of souls were an essential presupposition of the conception of immortality. There is nothing in the Egyptian texts to warrant this view: it is Amenemhēt who "cleaves the mountains of the Netherworld" to revisit his earthly home (Pl. XXVII[5]), it is Amenemhēt who seeks "to make transformations to his heart's content" (Pl. XXX[F]), and it is Amenemhēt again, not his soul, whom the *shawabti*-figures will replace when he is called upon to perform *corvées* in the other world (above, p. 116). The theory of souls may be necessary to make the Egyptian ideas more acceptable to ourselves, always thirsting for more explanation than we can get; but in many instances, such as those I have quoted, it never occurred to the minds of the Egyptians themselves.

The identification with Osiris was no personal aspiration of the deceased; in the ceiling-inscriptions, where his private hopes are most fully voiced, no reference is made to it. It was indeed a means rather than an end, as is suggested by the fact that it permeates all the ritual texts; the advantage to be gained from repeating on Amenemhēt's behalf all the rites that had aided the resuscitation of the god is too obvious to require further explanation. Originally it was only the King who was identified with Osiris, and it was not until the end of the Old Kingdom that private individuals began to claim for themselves the same honour; this was doubtless the final result of the modelling of the rites of burial and funerary cult upon those celebrated in favour of dead Pharaohs.

A striking inscription on the walls of the Shrine (see above, p. 99) enumerates in a rather unusual way the various "modes of being" (*hprw*) wherein Amenemhēt's continued existence might manifest itself. This concept of "modes of being" (the phrase might perhaps

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<sup>1</sup> The rank and file in ancient Egypt, as elsewhere, doubtless believed, and believed fervently, exactly what they were told about these matters. I have tried to analyse, in the text, the state of mind of the learned and thoughtful Egyptians—the class, in fact, from which all notions on such subjects must necessarily have originated.

be more closely rendered by "modes of becoming" or "growths") certainly helps to reconcile us to the strange Egyptian ideas of immortality. For what shocks our reason mainly is the *simultaneous* dispersal of a man's personality in half a dozen places and into half a dozen forms. The concept of "modes of becoming," implying as it does changes from one state to another, gives a semblance of rationality to the Egyptian theory, and may indeed have been invented for that purpose. A very comfortless form of immortality, that was accepted with surprising complacency, was the notion of the survival of the "name." The tomb, besides being the sepulchre of the deceased (), and "his castle in the Saered Land" (), was also his "monument" ( Pls. VIII, XLV) on which "his name will endure." But the survival of the name is not exclusively bound up with the survival of the tomb; perhaps even though this were destroyed Amenemhēt's name might endure "in the mouth of his children eternally" (Pl. XXVII[1]).

Little prominence is given in the tomb of Amenemhēt to the idea of an existence in the Netherworld, for the scenes and texts belonging to the book of the *Am duat* are wanting in his Burial-chamber. Indeed, it is worthy of remark that those chapters of the Book of the Dead which hinge upon this theme are conspicuous by their absence. Even less prominence is accorded to the notion of a celestial existence, to which almost the sole references have been quoted in speaking of the *ba*.

The dominant conception in the ceiling-texts is that of an Amenemhēt who dwells in the Burial-chamber, but all of whose desires are earthwards, no matter what reverence the Goddess of the West may show him (Pl. XXVII[2]). His ceaseless longing is to "stride through the gate of the Netherworld" (Pl. XXVII[3]) and to revisit his "house of the living" (Pl. XXVII[5]). There he will be regaled with music and song (*ib.*), or he will "stroll by the beauteous margin of his pond," taking refreshment beneath the trees from the water of the well he himself made (Pl. XXVII[4]). Perhaps it is there, in his old familiar home, that he fancies himself to be when he ascends each day to answer the call of the offerer; at all events, he loves to linger in that neighbourhood, extending his protective guardianship over his children (Pl. XXVII[5]). Nor does he wish to be deprived of his former religious functions, but hopes to "praise Rē at his rising" and to "adore him at his setting" (Pl. XXVII[3]); and he aspires also to participate in the festivals of the living, as when he speaks of his desire "to sail in the Divine Bark of the Great God in his procession of the beginning of the year" (Pl. XXX[B]).

Concerning the more ordinary and less roseate sides of earthly life these ceiling-texts are mute; but the pictures of the tomb may hint, as we have seen, that death does not necessarily terminate the humdrum occupations of daily life. Earthly interests and earthly pleasures remain the ideal of the Egyptians; and if in their lifetimes they devoted more thought to funerary things than any other people of the globe has done, this does but testify to their keen conscious enjoyment of the things around them, and their dread, nay terror, lest death might put an end to what they valued so highly.



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- Sais, Eg. town mentioned in connection with funeral ceremonies, 50, 53.  
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- "Stele" (*b*) as mode of being of the dead man, 100.  
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 Stomach, disposal of the dead man's, 113.  
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- "Tail-edging," a decorative device, 14 *n*<sup>1</sup>.  
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 Tayt, goddess of weaving, 56 *n*<sup>2</sup>.  
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*Tekenu*, in funeral procession, 51.  
 Temple of Amūn, songs in praise of, 40-41, 63.  
 Thebes, its glory a popular theme, 63.  
 Thoht, supposed performer of the rite of "bringing the foot," 94.  
 "Thrones of the Two Lands," name of Karnak, 43.  
 Titles, inheritance of, 7.  
 Toilet, articles of, in Burial-chamber, 114.  
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 Tomb of A., ransacked at various times, 24; clearing and restoration of, 25.  
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- Unu, Eg. name of Hermopolis, mentioned in connection with funeral ceremonies, 50.  
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 Upwawet, wolf-god, identified with Anubis, 43.  
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- Ventilation of tomb, 10.  
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- Walls, preparation of, for painting, 12.  
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 Water, meaning of ritualistic pouring of cold, 76.  
 Weavers of Amūn, 8.  
 Weighing of heart before Osiris, 18.  
*Wēr-nūter*, priest figured in funeral ceremonies, 54.  
 West, Goddess of, 48.  
 Wine-jars, conical stoppers on, 36; man fanning, 70.  
 Women, with pink skins instead of yellow, 40, 98.  
 Women's pavilion, depicted in scenes of funeral ceremonies, 54.  
 "Wreath of justification," 111 *n*<sup>3</sup>.  
 Writing, close analogy of Eg. painting with, 15.



## II.—NAMES OF PERSONS.

N.B.—An asterisk \* prefixed to a name indicates a woman. The sign † attached to a name or title indicates that the person concerned is not mentioned in tomb 82 itself.

- Ḳḥms* (Ahmōse): † Vizier, 2, 22, 32, 33.  
5.  
outline-draughtsman, 37.  
singer, 40.
- \* *Ḳḥms* (Ahmōse): lady of the house, 4, 5.  
lady of the house, 32, 33.  
† lady of the house, 33.
- Ḳḥms ḥ-m-š*: steward of the Vizier, 4.
- \* *Ḳḥtp* (Ahhotpe): lady of the house, 4.
- \* *Ḳwy* . . . . (Iuy): 5.
- \* *Ḳwynfret* (Iuynofret): 6.
- Ḳmn* . . . . (Amen . . . .): scribe of the Vizier, 5.  
serving-man, 98.
- Ḳmnwpt* (Amenemopet): scribe, 98.
- Ḳmnwskhet* (Amenemwaskhet): 6.
- \* *Ḳmnwskhet* (Amenemwaskhet): 5.  
32, 33.
- Ḳmnwhet* (Amenemhēt): (owner of tomb), *passim*.  
† High-priest of Amūn, 2 n<sup>2</sup>.  
† overseer of the ergastulum of Amūn, 34.  
scribe, 5.  
*wṛb*-priest of Amūn, 32.  
33.
- Ḳmnwhb* (Amenemhab): gold-worker, 64 n<sup>6</sup>.
- \* *Ḳmnwhb* (Amenemhab): 6.  
33.
- Ḳmnws* (Amenmōse): scribe of the granary of divine offerings, 5.  
6.  
† scribe of the treasury of Amūn, 33.
- Ḳmhtp* (Amenhotpe): scribe, 5.  
scribe, 6.  
overseer of all crafts of Amūn, 64.  
† overseer of the ergastulum of Amūn, 34.  
(attendant), 98.
- \* *Ḳmhtp* (Amenhotpe): (musician), 40.
- Ḳntf*: "master of ceremonies," "overseer of ploughed lands," 4.
- \* *Ḳntf* (Antef): lady of the house, 4.  
lady of the house, 4.
- † *Ḳḥprwms* (Akheprumōse): 6.
- † *Ḳḥprkṛ* (Akheperkerē): priest of Month, 33.
- Ḳtḥw* (Amothu): Vizier, *see Ḳḥms*.
- Wsr* (User): Vizier, 2, 22, 31–34, 71–72.
- wsrḥmn* (Useramūn): Vizier, *see wrs*.  
6.
- wsrḥnḥ* (Useronkh): assessor of Amūn, 5.
- wsrḥt* (Userhēt): scribe, 5.
- Bḥk* (Bak): singer, 63.  
† herald of the Vizier, 2.
- \* *bḥkt* (Bāket): lady of the house, 4.  
5.  
musician of Amūn, 33.  
(harper), 63.  
(musician), 40.
- \* *bḥktḥmn* (Baktamūn): lady of the house, *see bḥkt*.
- \* *Mwtḥfret* (Mutnofret): (musician), 40.
- mryḥmn* (Maryamūn): 5.  
32.
- †\* *mryḥmn* (Marytamūn): musician of Amūn, 4.
- mrym'et* (Marymā'et): [prophet] of Amūn in Zosru, 32, 33.
- Nbḥmn* (Nebamūn): scribe of the granary of divine offerings, 64.
- nbw'w* (Nebwau): serving-man, 98.
- nbwny* (Nebseniy): serving-man, 98.
- nfṛḥbf* (Neferehbof): (serving-man), 98.
- nfṛḥtp* (Neferhotpe): overseer of the ergastulum of Amūn, 33–34.
- \* *nfṛḥ'wt* (Neferkhēwet): waitress, 98.
- \* *nfṛtiry* (Nofretari): 6.  
33.
- \* *nḥmy'* (Nehemya): waitress, 98.
- †\* *nsnb* (Nesnub): 34.
- \* *nštmwt* (Neshetmūt): 98.
- \* *Rwḥwrstḥ* (Ruiuresti): (musician), 63.
- Ḳ-m-š-w* (Hamashu). *See Ḳḥms ḥ-m-š*.
- † *ḥr* (Hor): first lector of Tuthmosis I, 33.
- \* *Ḳḥwt* (Khawet): female singer, 40.
- Sḥmn* (Siamūn): (attendant), 41, 98.
- sḥmnḥ* (Simonkh): . . . . [of Amūn], 32.
- \* *sḥtmn* (Sitamūn): 6.

\* *sṯwrt* (Satwēret). See *bṯkt*.  
*snḥtp* (Senhotpe): (serving-man), 64.

*Šrī* (Shēre): 5.

*Kṯy?* (Kay?): master of ceremonies, overseer of ploughed lands, 4.

\* *kṯm[t]* (Kam[et]): female singer, 40.  
*kmy?* (Kemy?): See *kṯy*.

*Knmn* (Kenamūn): serving-man, 98.

\* *T-<sup>c</sup>[m-*t*]* (Tahmothu): 34.

\* *twṯ* (Tuia): 6.

\* *twṯwnfret* (Tuiunofret): 5.

\* *tt[i . . .]* (Teti . . .): 5.

\* *Twṯw* (Thuiu): lady of the house, 32, 33.

*twṯwnfret* (Thuiunofret): lady of the house, 5.

*tny* (Theni): serving-man, 64.

*Dḥwtyns* (Dhutmōse): overseer of ploughed lands, master of ceremonies, 3-4.

head of the weavers of Amūn, 5.  
 steward, scribe, 5.

\* *Dḥwtyns* (Dhutmōse): 5.

### III.—TITLES.

N.B.—The same signs are used as in Index II.

*Imy-rṯ pr* (steward): A., 6.

Dhutmōse, 5.

———— *n tṯt* (steward of the Vizier): A., 6.

Ahmōse Hamash, 4.

*Imy-rṯ ḥmwṯ nbt n Imn* (overseer of all crafts of Amūn):

Amenhotpe, 64.

———— *ḥbsw* (overseer of ploughed lands): A., 7.

Dhutmōse, 2.

Kay, 4.

† ————— *n Imn* (overseer of ploughed lands of Amūn):

Menna, 7 n<sup>1</sup>.

† ————— *n Mntw nb Wṯst* (overseer of ploughed lands of Month, lord of Thebes): . . . ., 7 n<sup>1</sup>.

† *Imy-rṯ šn<sup>c</sup> n Imn* (overseer of the ergastulum of Amūn):

Neferhotpe, 33-34.

Amenemhēt, 34.

*Wḥb n Imn* (*wḥb*-priest of Amūn): Amenemhēt, 32.

*wḥb* (serving-man): Theni, 64.

† *whm n tṯt* (herald of the Vizier): Ahmōse, 2.

Bak, 2.

Nebwau, 98.

*wḍpw* (serving-man): Kenamūn, 98.

*Mr* (overseer), see *Imy-rṯ*.

*Nb* (gold-worker): Amenemhab, 64 n<sup>6</sup>.

\* *nbt pr* (lady of the house): Ahhotpe, 4.

Ahmōse, 4, 5.

Ahmōse, 32, 33.

† Ahmōse, 33.

Antef, 4.

Antef, 4.

Bāket, 4.

Thuiu, 32, 33.

Thuiunofret, 5.

† *Ḥm-ntr n Imn ḥnt Dsrw* (Prophet of Amūn in Zosru):

Marymā'et, 32, 33.

† ————— *n Mntw* (Prophet of Month): Akheperkerē, 33.

*ḥry mrw (?) n Imn* (overseer of the weavers of Amūn):

A., 7.

Dhutmōse, 5.

*ḥs* (singer): Ahmōse, 40.

Bāk, 63.

\* *ḥsyṯ* (female singer): Bāket, 63.

Khāwet, 40.

Kam[et], 40.

. . . ., 40 n<sup>7</sup>.

*ḥsb ṯ ḥt* (reckoner of fields): A., 7.

— *ḥt n Imn* (reckoner of the corn of Amūn): A., 7.

— *n šnwṯ ḥtp-ntr n Imn* (reckoner of corn in the granary of divine offerings of Amūn): A., 7.

- hsh wnnut* (reckoner of what exists): A., 6.  
 — *rmf* (reckoner of people): A., 6.  
 — *hmt* (reckoner of metal): A., 7.
- † *Hry-hb tpy n 'shprkzr* (first lector of Tuthmosis I): Hor, 33.
- Ssb* (worthy): Dhutmōse, 4.  
*smsw hzyt* (master of ceremonies): Dhutmōse, 3–4.  
 Kay, 4.  
*smsw hzyt [n pr 'Imn?]* (master of ceremonies of the estate of Amūn): A., 7.  
 † Unamūn, 7.
- ss* (scribe): Ahmōse Hamash, 2.  
 Amenemhēt, 5.  
 Amenhotpe, 6.  
 Dhutmōse, 5.  
 Userhēt, 5.
- † *ss n pr-hd n 'Imn* (scribe of the treasury of Amūn).  
 Amenmōse, 33.  
 — *n šurt nt htp-ntr* (scribe of the granary of divine offerings): Amenmōse, 5.  
 Nebamūn, 64.  
 . . . . ., 64.  
 — *hd* (outline-draughtsman): Ahmōse, 37.  
 — *n tzt* (scribe of the Vizier): A., 6.  
 Amen . . . . ., 5.
- \* *sdmt š* (waitress): Neferklēwet, 98.  
 Nehemya, 98.
- \* *Šm'yt nt 'Imn* (musician of Amūn): Bāket, 33.  
 † Marytamūn, 4.
- Knbty n 'Imn* (assessor of Amūn): Useronkh, 5.
- Tzt* (Vizier): Ahmōse, 2, 22, 32, 33.  
 User, 2, 22, 31–34, 71–72.

## IV.—EGYPTIAN WORDS (SELECTED).

- 'Imy mhn f*, "he who is in his snake-coil," 103.  
*int rd*, "bringing the foot," 93–94.  
*irt hp*, "keep laws," 71 n<sup>12</sup>.
- bt*, "slab (?) of stone," 59.
- Wpkr*, "region of the tree *pk*," 47 n<sup>2</sup>.  
*wbt*, "place of embalment," 45 n<sup>3</sup>.  
*wrt-hkzr*, rod used in "Opening the Mouth," 59.
- Pr n nhr*, "house of the living," 44 n<sup>2</sup>.  
*pr nfr*, "Good House," 73 n<sup>2</sup>.
- M'shrr*, "justified," 47 n<sup>4</sup>.  
*msh n m'shrr*, "wreath of justification," 111 n<sup>3</sup>.  
*mnkwr*, epithet of Isis, 52.  
*mltf-t*, instrument used in "Opening the Mouth," 59.
- N'swt*, "king," 80.  
*nr*, "adze," used in "Opening the Mouth," 59.
- n-mh-f*, "it floats not," name of green basalt (?), 112 n<sup>5</sup>.  
*nms*, a kind of head-gear, 60.  
*njb-kz*, "Uniting the *kas*," a festival, 97 n<sup>4</sup>.  
*nsw*, "king," 80.  
*ntyw-im*, "those who are yonder," i.e. the dead, 43 n<sup>5</sup>.  
*nrh*, instrument used in "Opening the Mouth," 59.
- H'sud*, "Ah, fear . . .," opening words of song, 62.  
*hnr*, "kindred," 71 n<sup>16</sup>.  
*hdu*, a plant, 94.
- Hst-nb*, "House of gold," 58 n<sup>1</sup>.  
*hzt-kz*, "house of the *ka*," 73 n<sup>3</sup>.  
*htp wsh*, "offering of the Broad Hall," 85.  
*htp ntr*, "divine offerings," 37, 80 n<sup>1</sup>.  
*htp dī n'swt*, "a boon which the King gives," formula, 79–93.
- Hwt*, "dancing," 51 n<sup>4</sup>.  
*hbsw*, "ploughed lands," 7.  
*hprw*, "modes of being," 100.



*Sꜣ srꜣt*, a priest (?), 51 n<sup>2</sup>.

*smꜣw ḥꜣyt*, "master of ceremonies," 7.

*shb šnb-t*, "making festive the breast," 43 n<sup>13</sup>.

*ššd*, "fillet," 37.

*šfd-yt*, "bier," 56 n<sup>6</sup>.

*šms wdꜣ*, "funeral procession," 49 n<sup>10</sup>.

*Kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*, "Khoiak," a festival, 97 n<sup>4</sup>.

*Dwꜣ-t*, "Netherworld," 18; "nether chamber, 117.

*dwꜣ-wr*, instrument used in "Opening the Mouth," 59 n<sup>2</sup>.

*Dmd-yt*, name applied to Nephthys, 52.

*ḳr-yt*, "kite," 49 n<sup>2</sup>.

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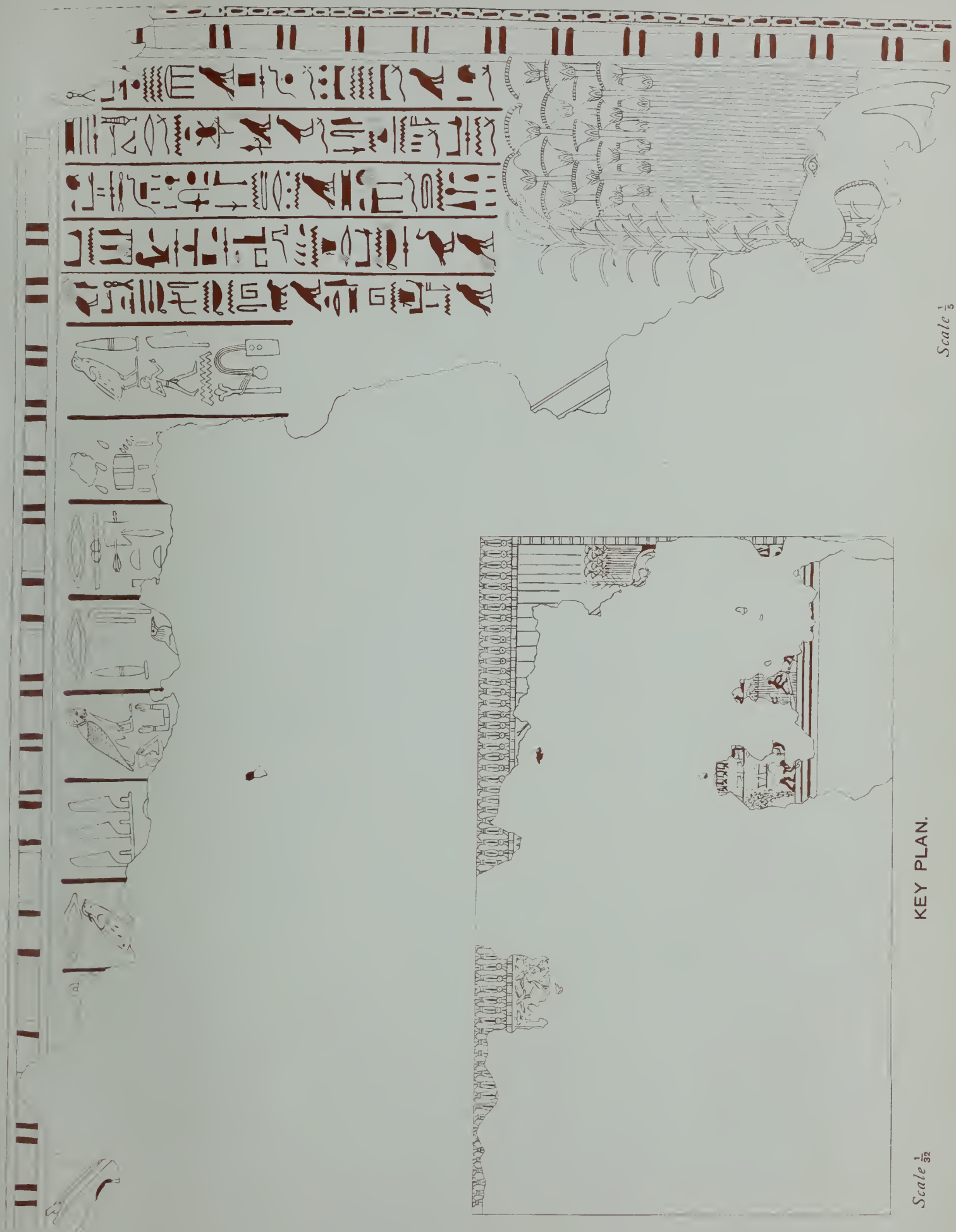


# PLATES



Scale  $\frac{1}{5}$

HALL. WEST WALL; NORTH SIDE.



KEY PLAN.

Scale  $\frac{1}{32}$







A HIPPOPOTAMUS AT BAY





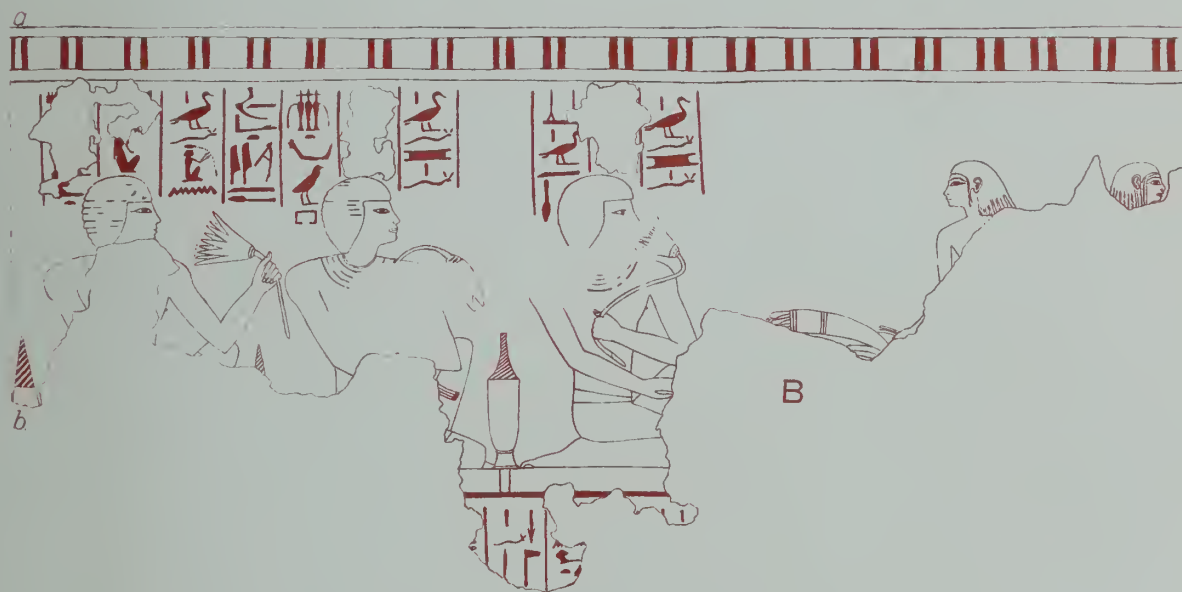
HALL. WEST WALL: N. SIDE (lower part).



Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$



*A long gap between A and B.*

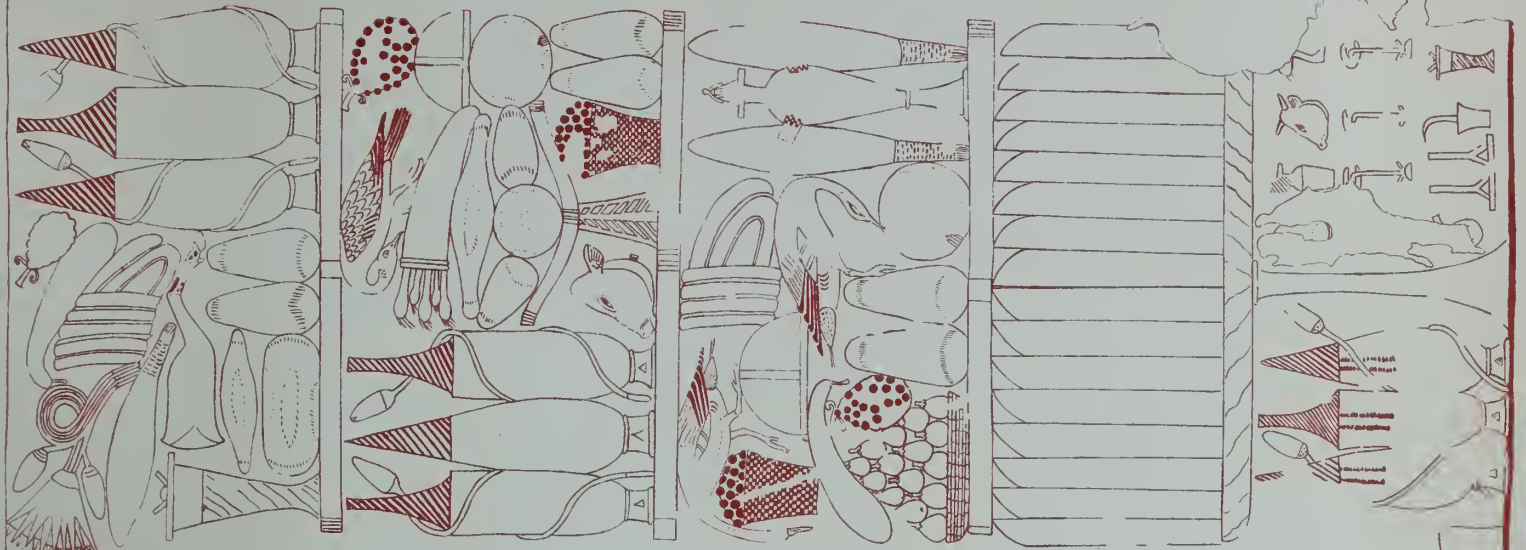


Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$





Plate V

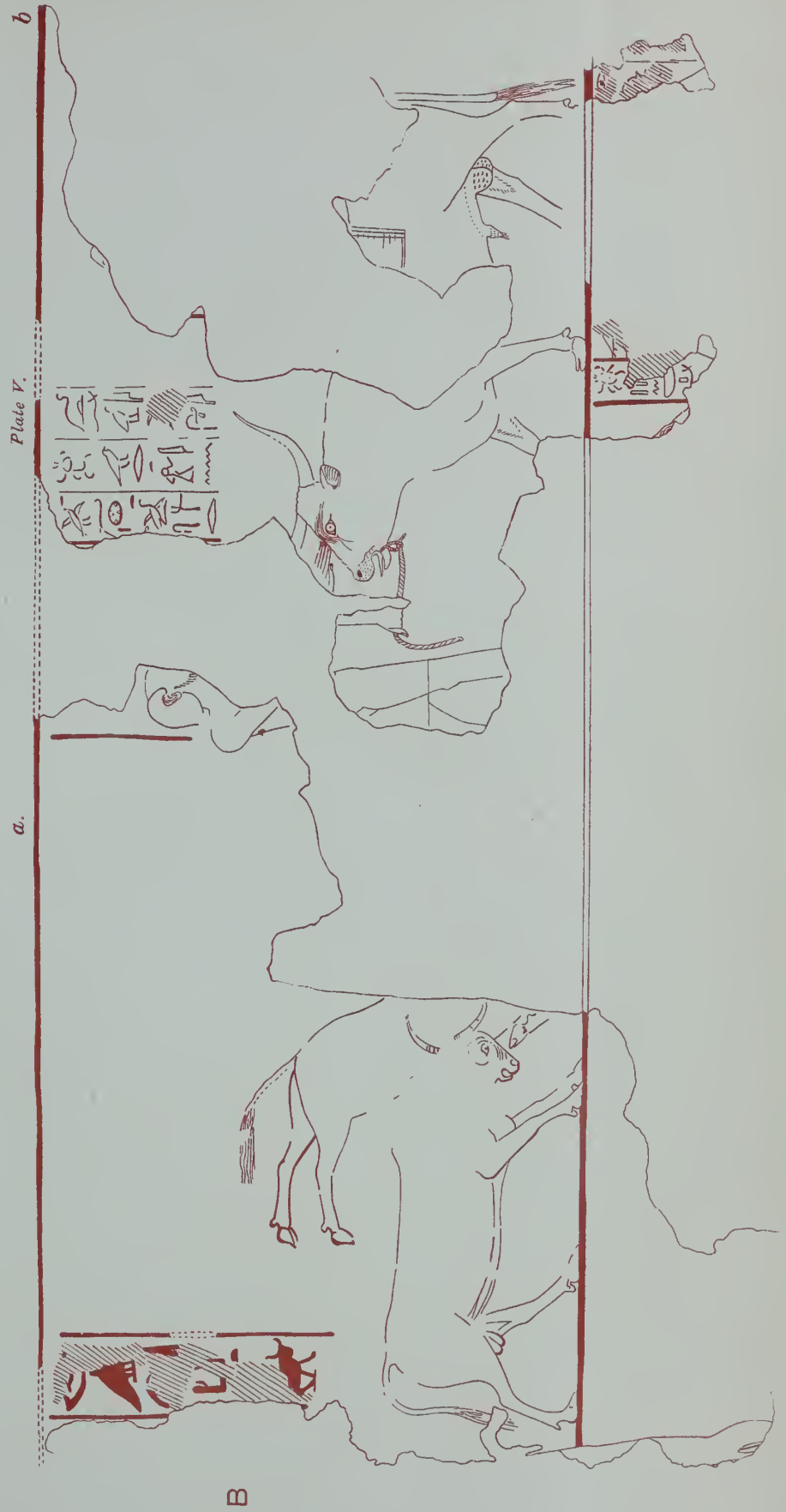
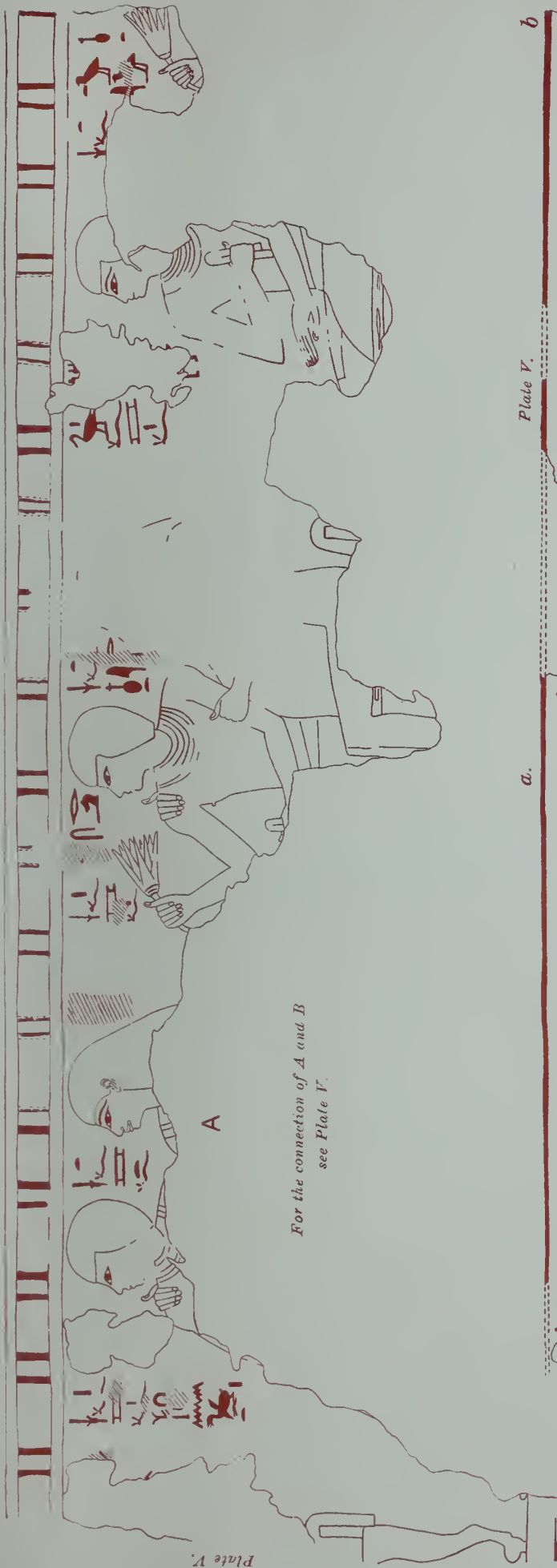














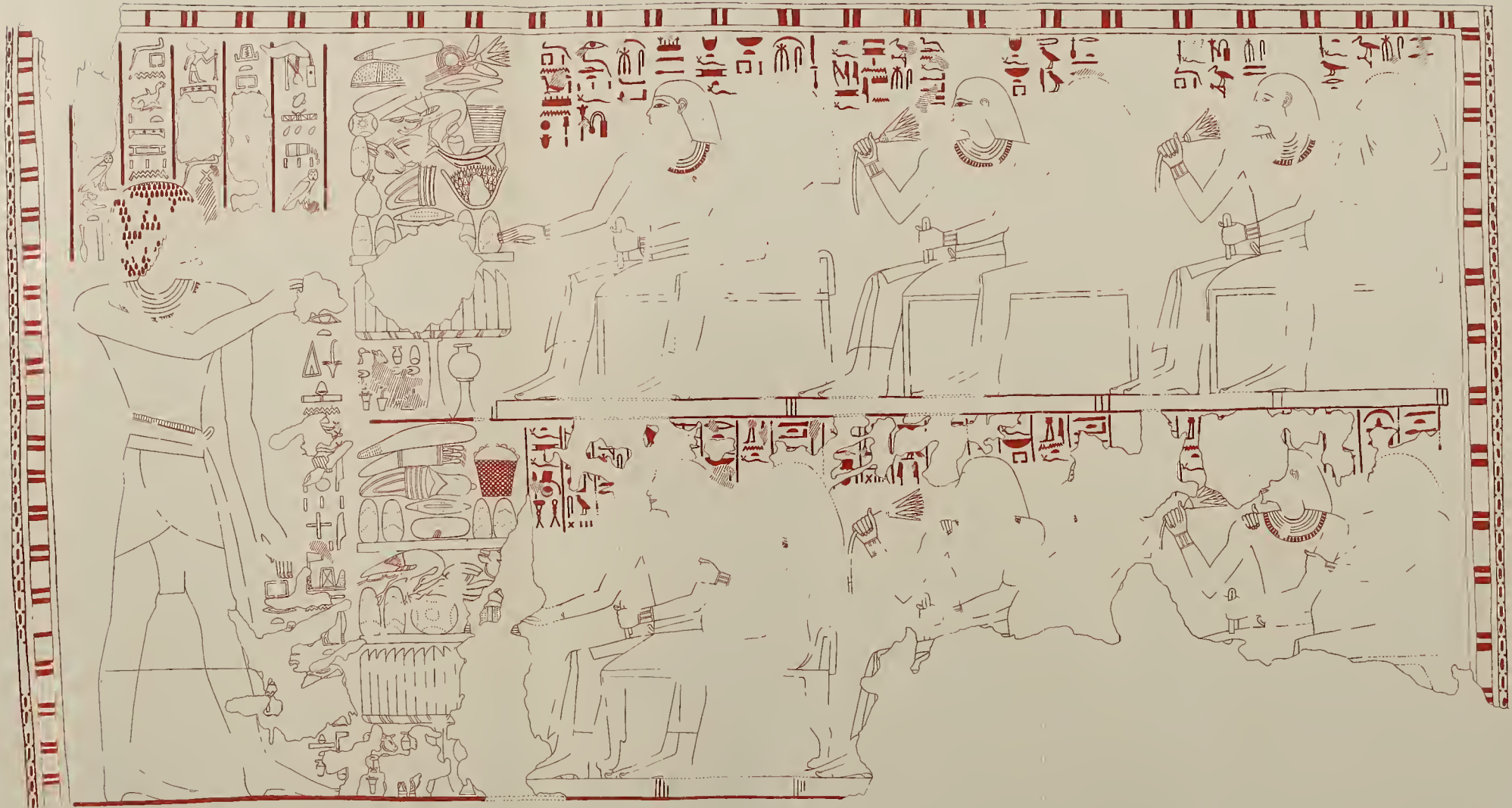




THE PRIZE BULL

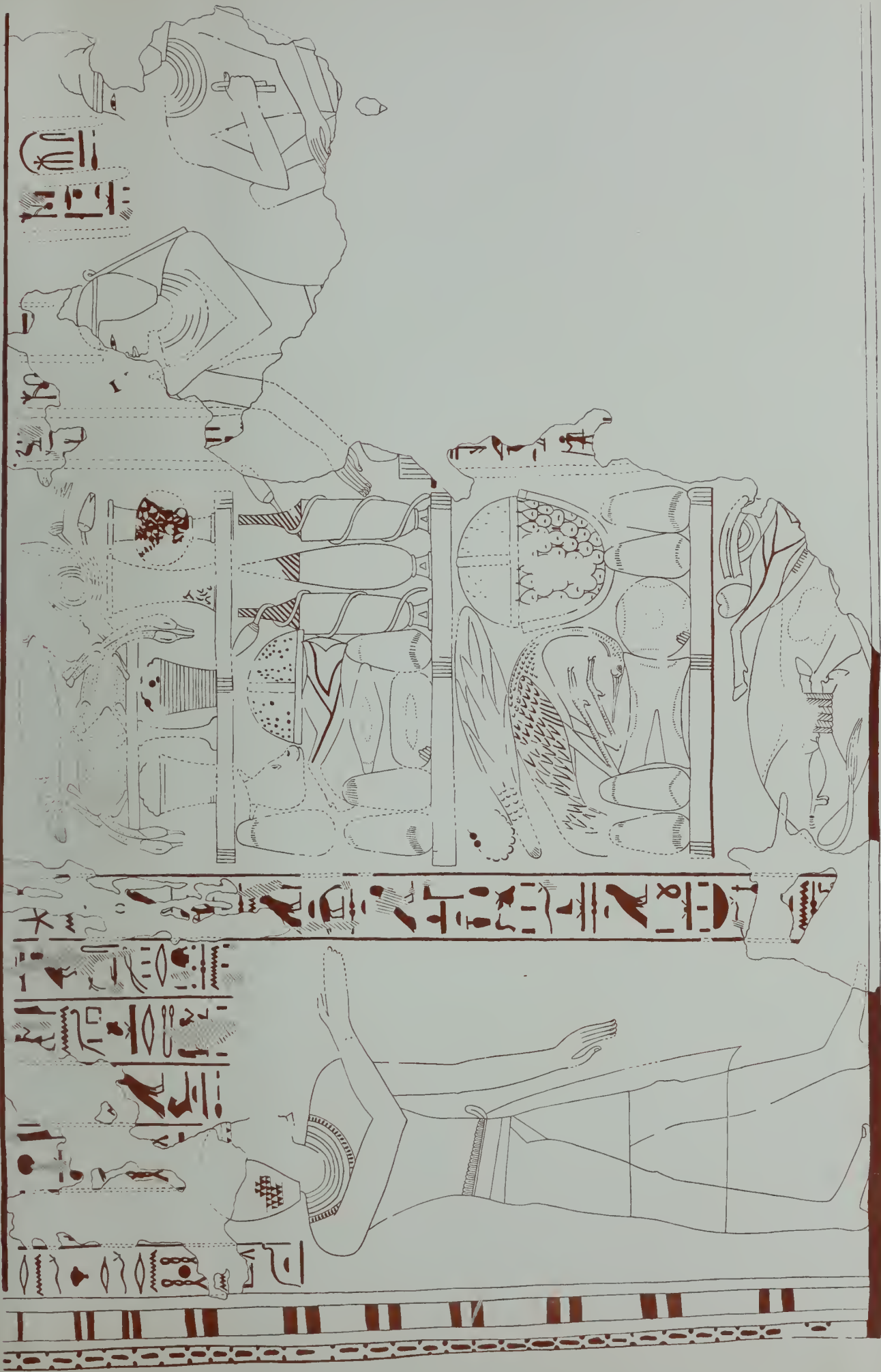








HALL. SOUTH WALL (lower part).

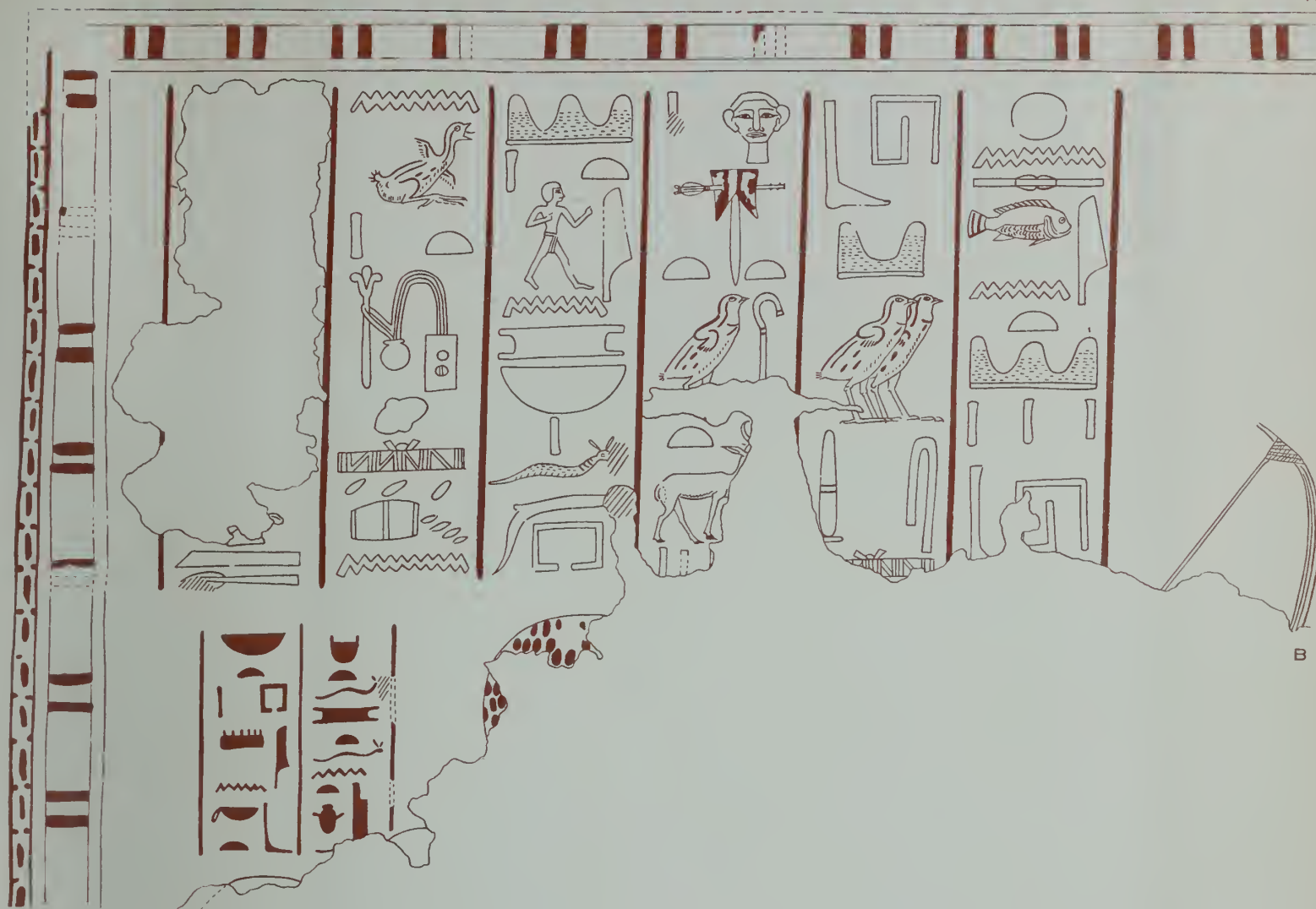


Scale  $\frac{2}{3}$





A

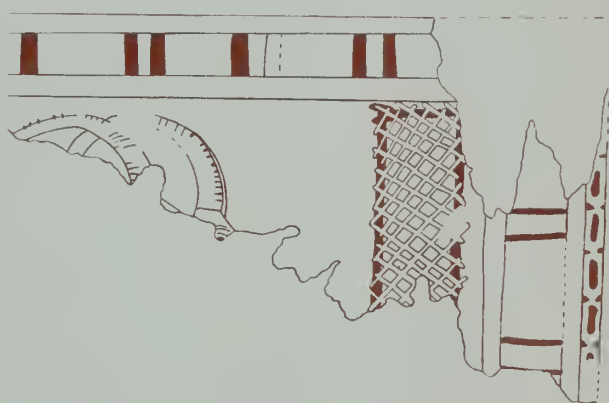


B

A



large  
gap



B

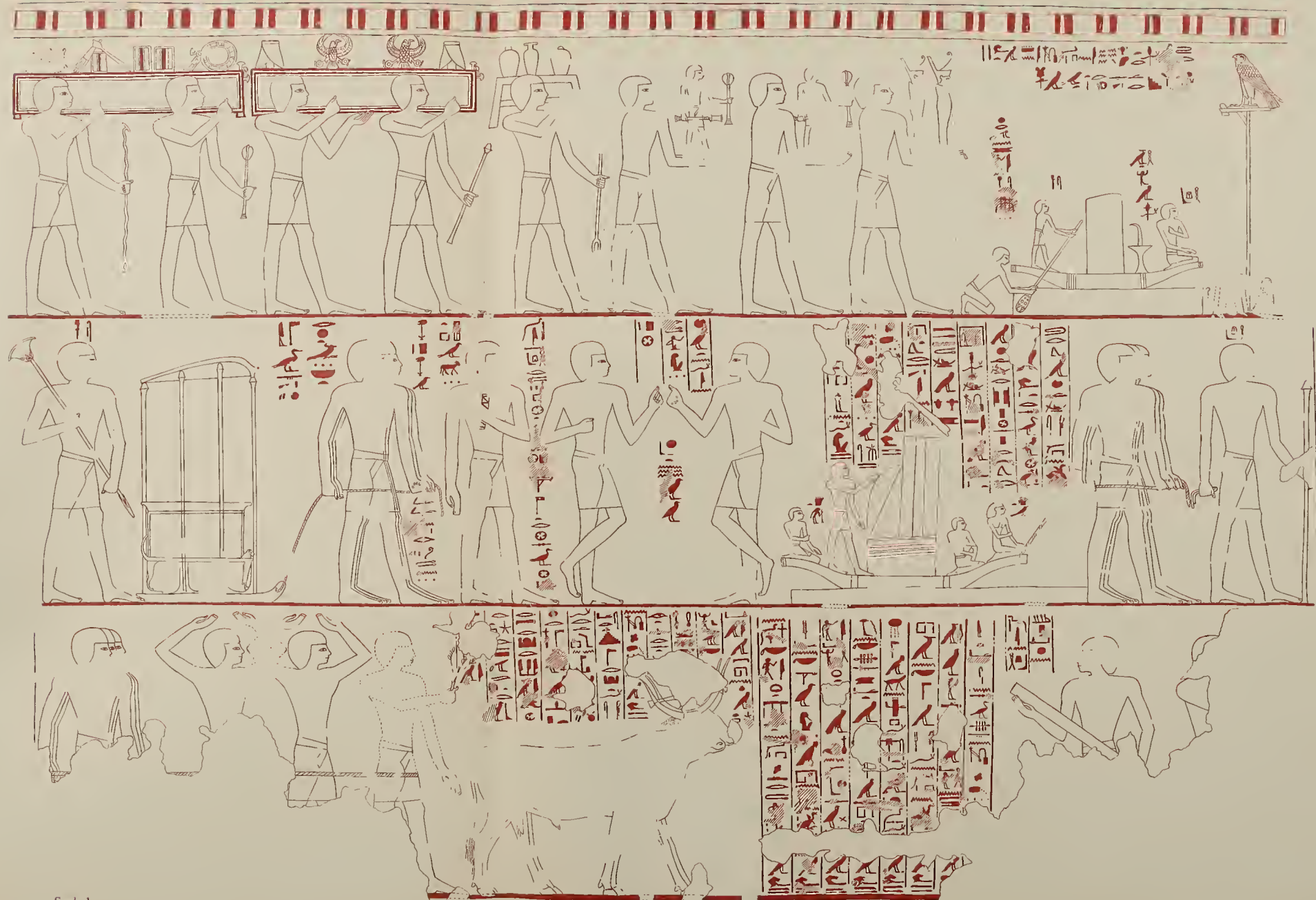
Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$























Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$

NOTE. There is a gap of two feet in the original between A and A', B and B', C and the end of the scene. For the asterisk see Plate IX.









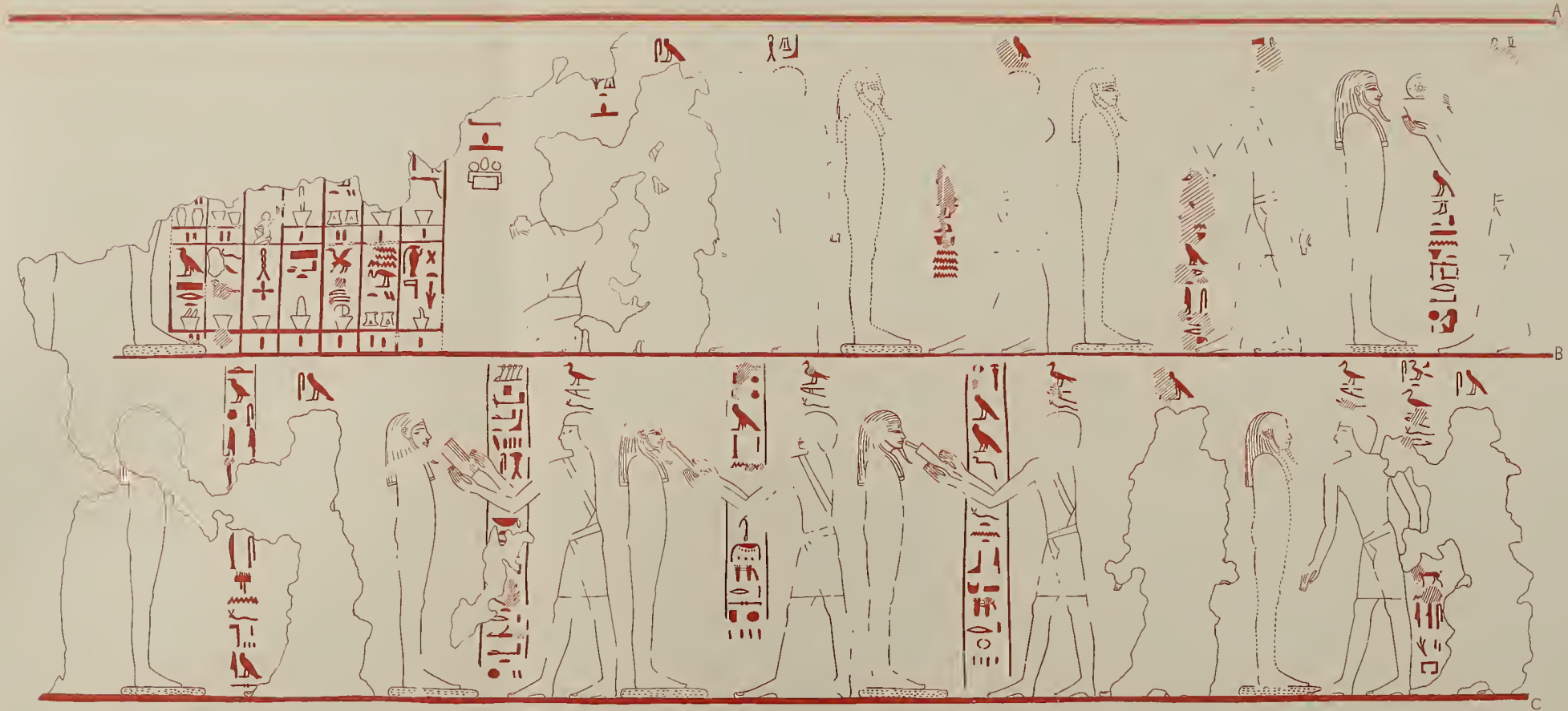












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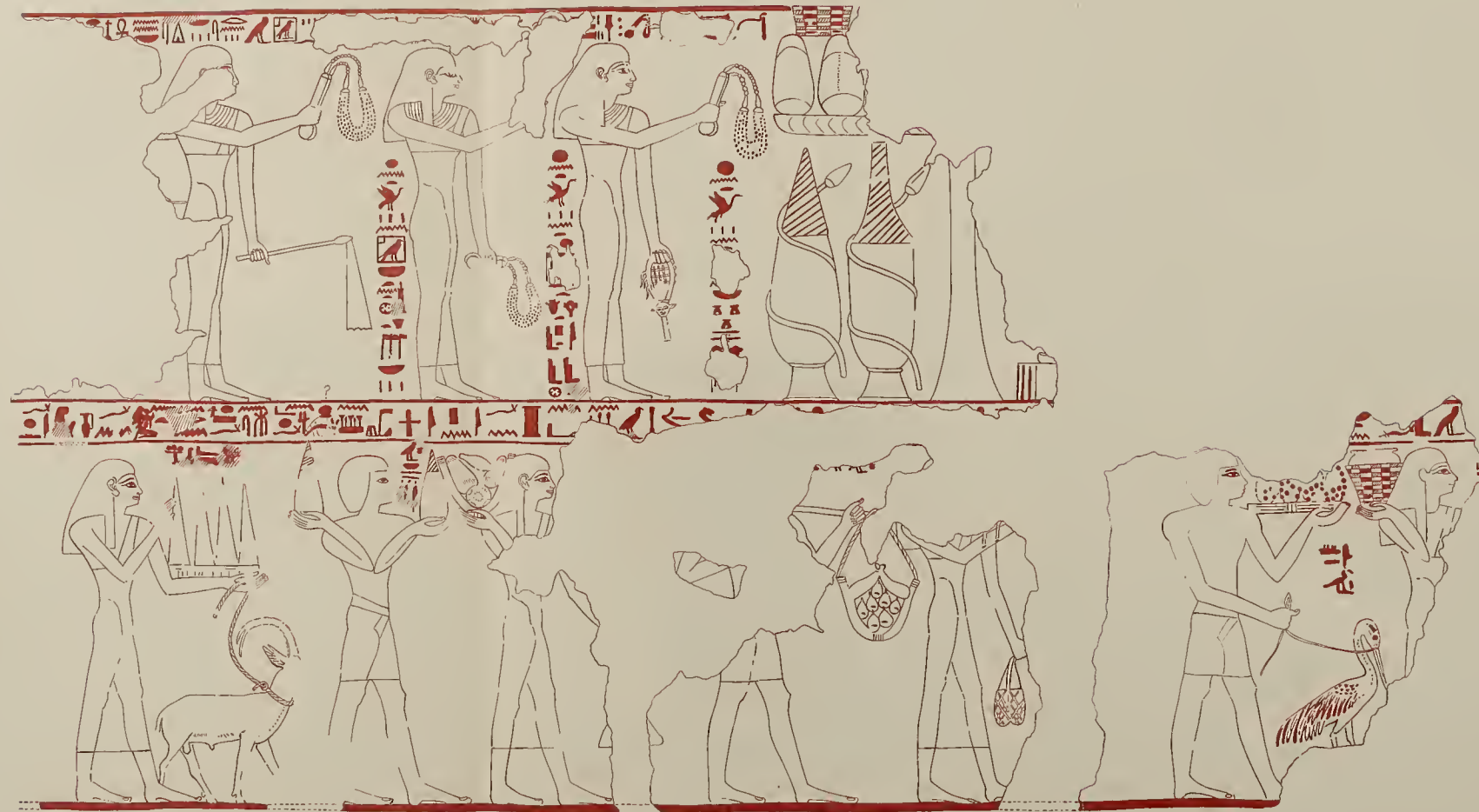






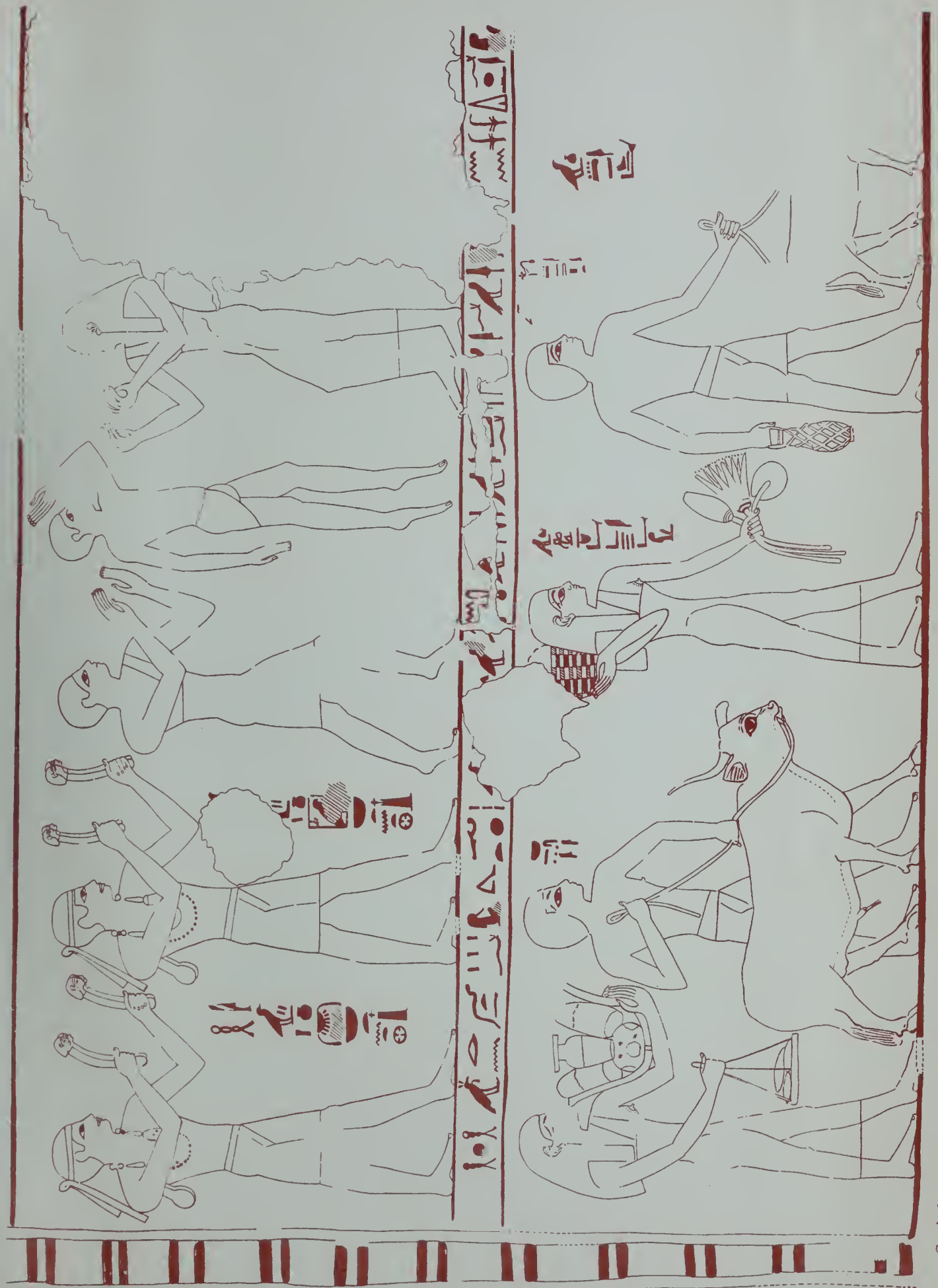






Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$









Plat. XXII (A).

Scale  $\frac{1}{6}$





Plate XXI.

Plate XXIII.

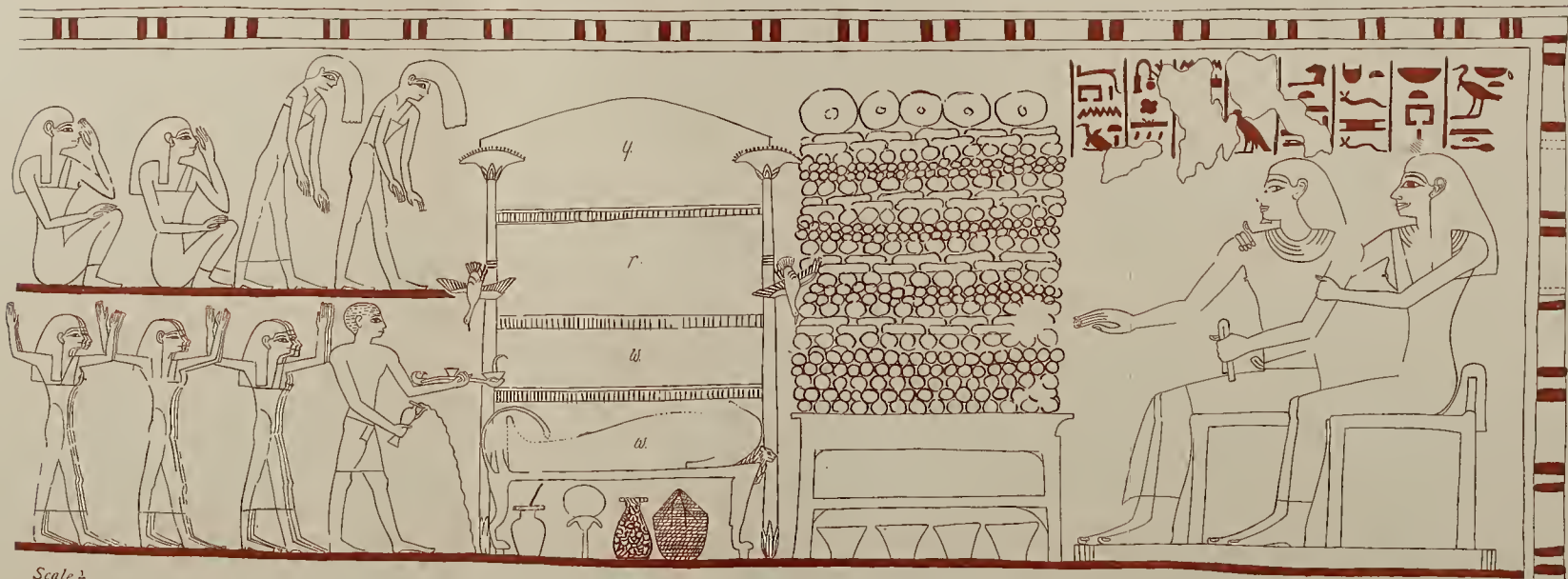








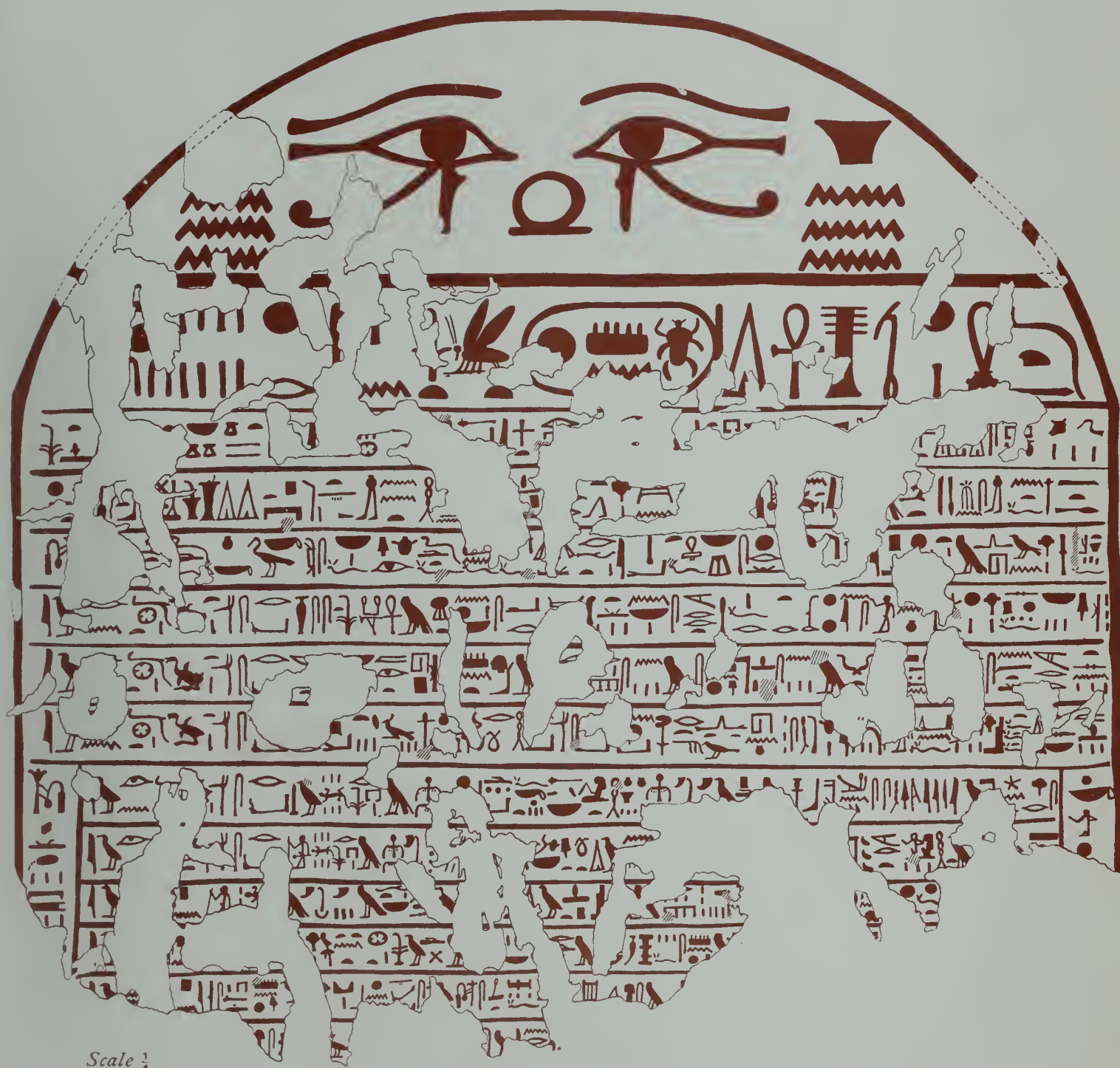




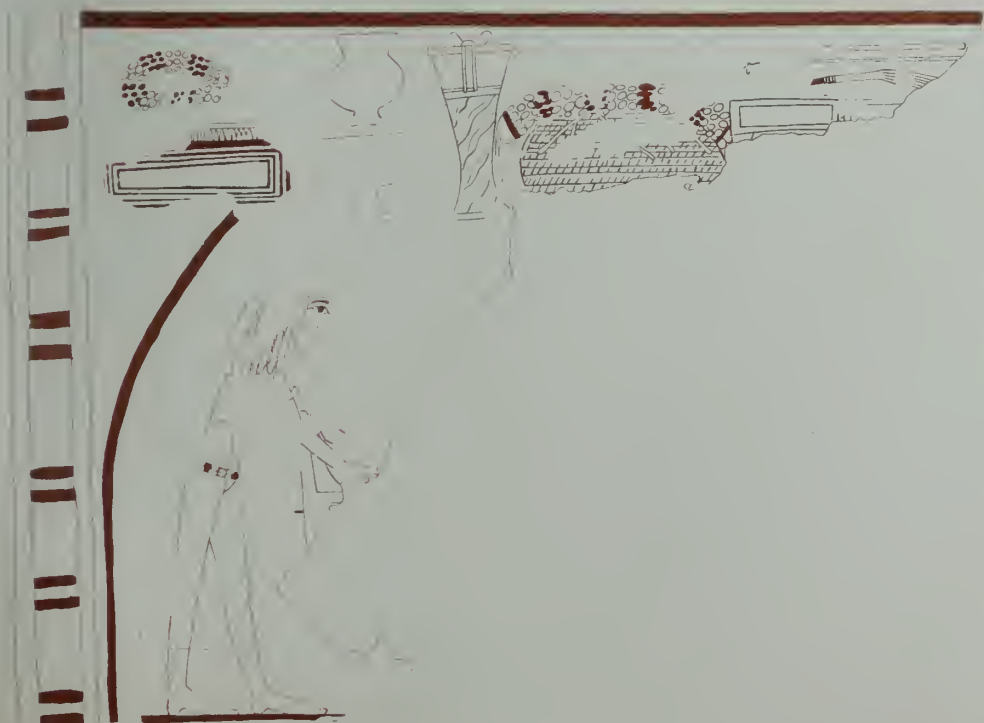
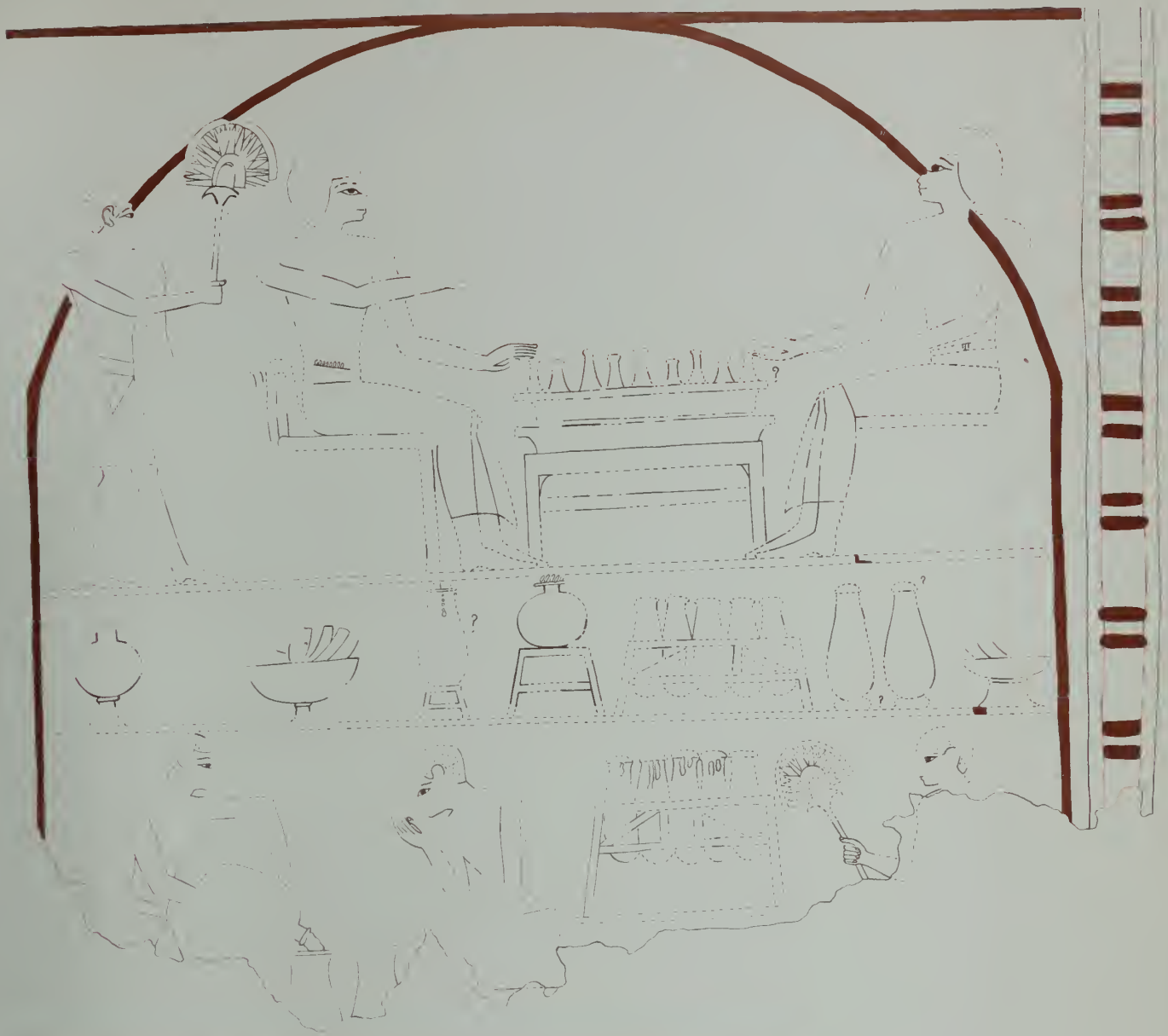
Scale  $\frac{1}{8}$















SOUTH

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NORTH

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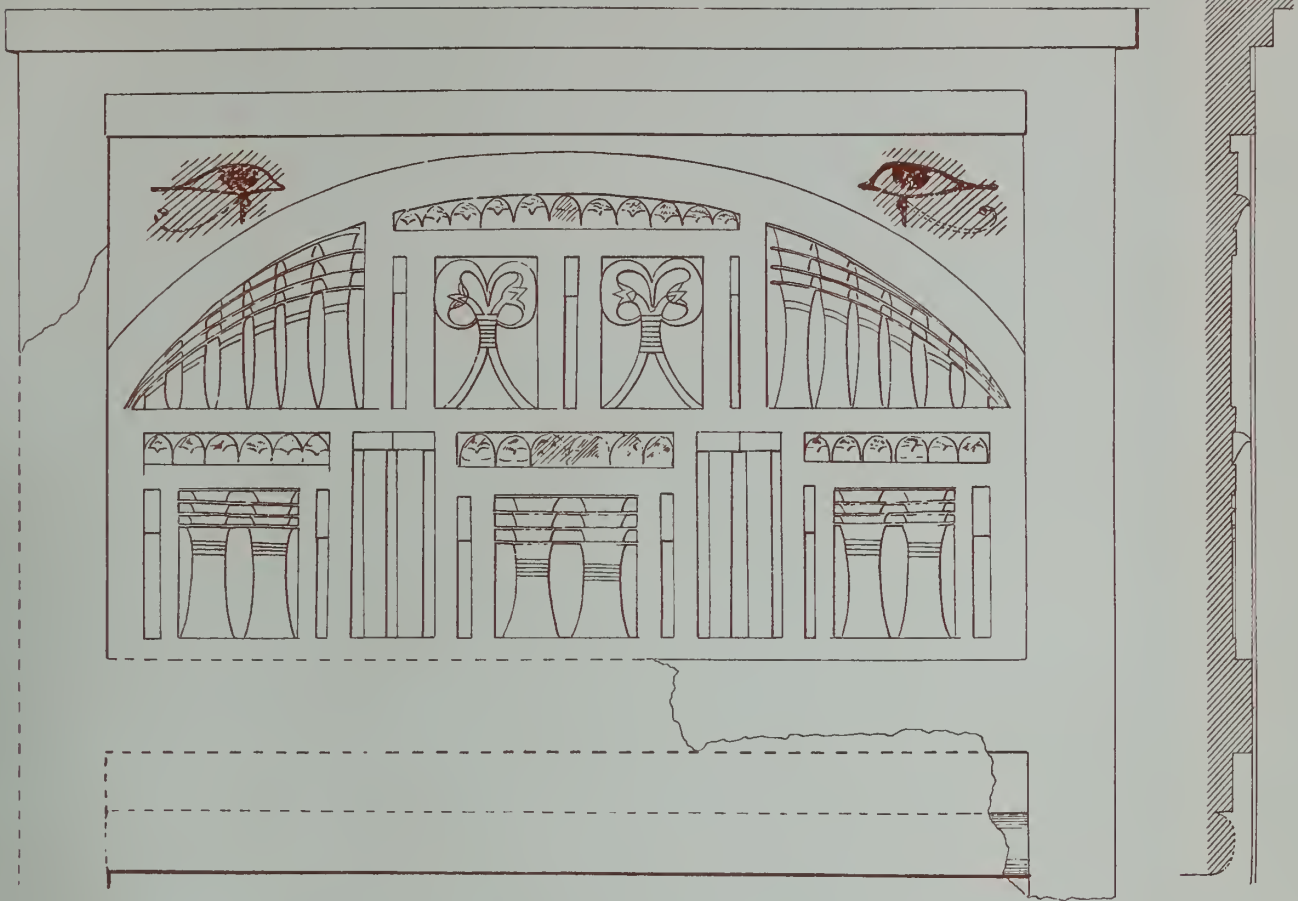
99

100



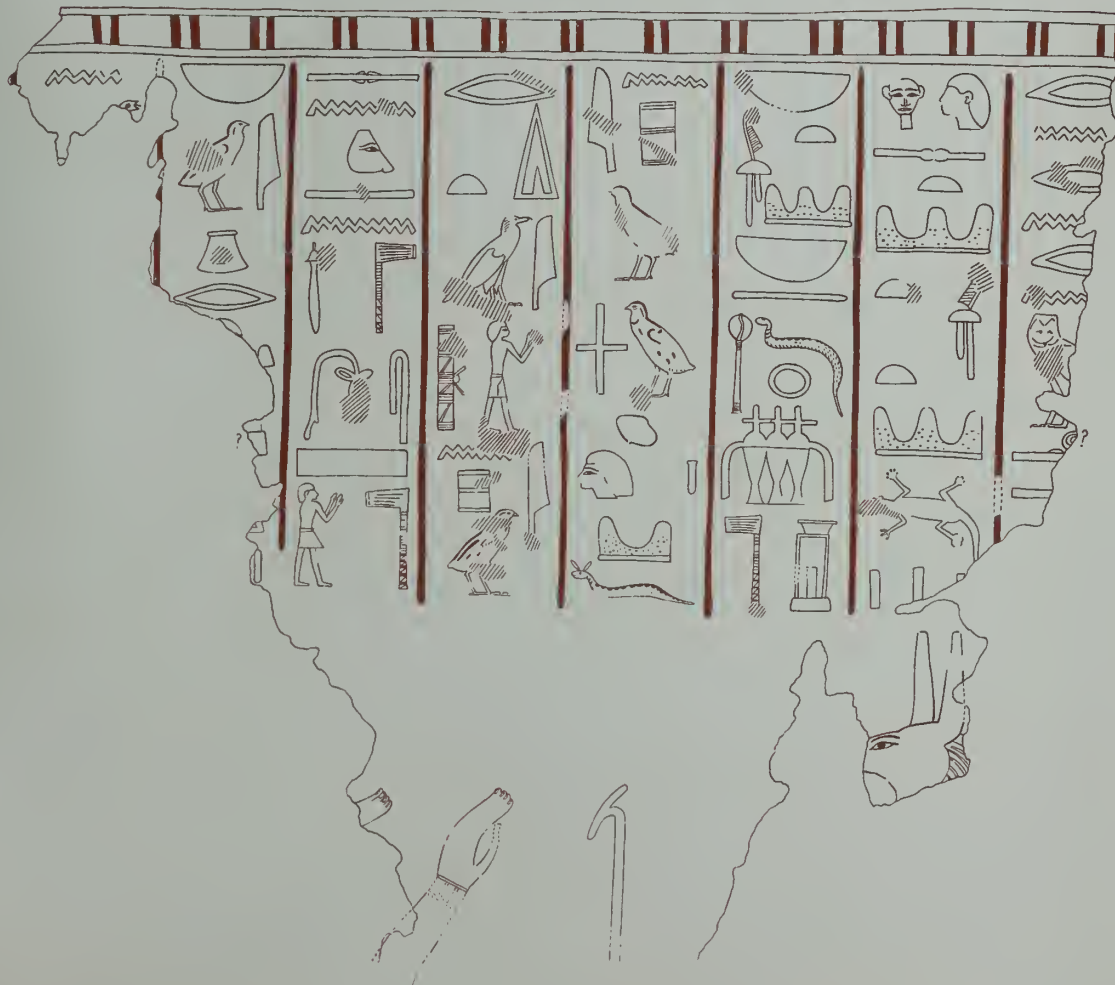






Scale  $\frac{1}{16}$

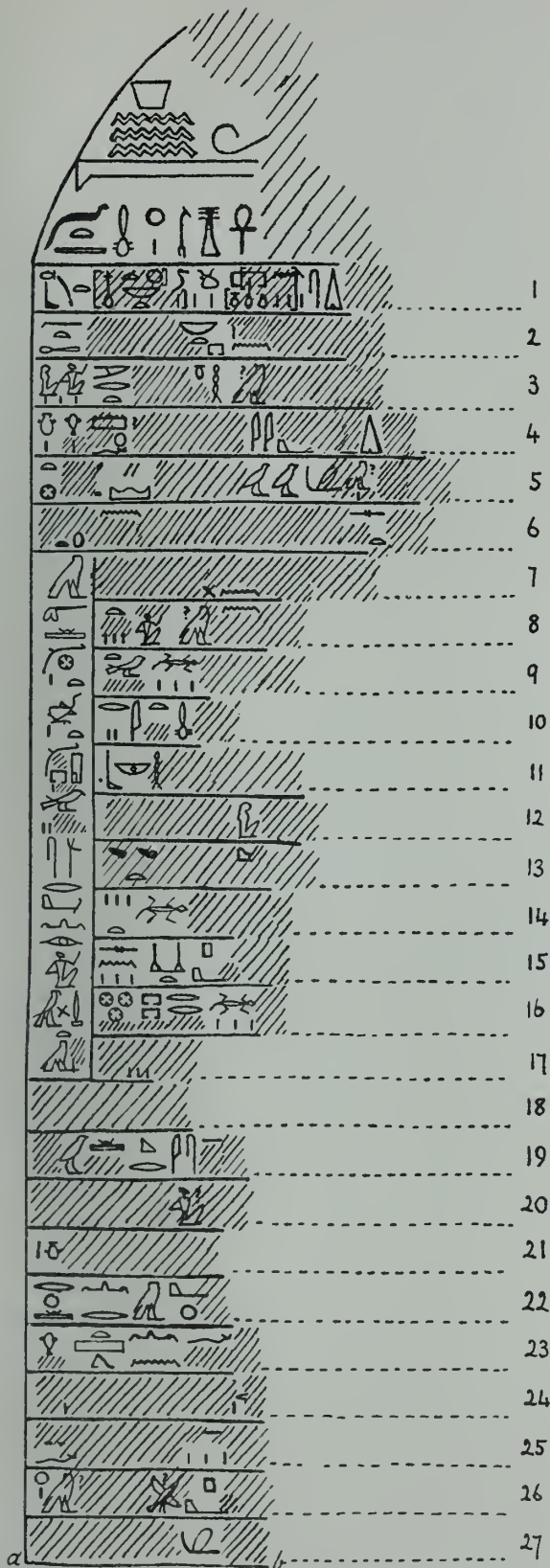
ENTABLATURE: WEST WALL.



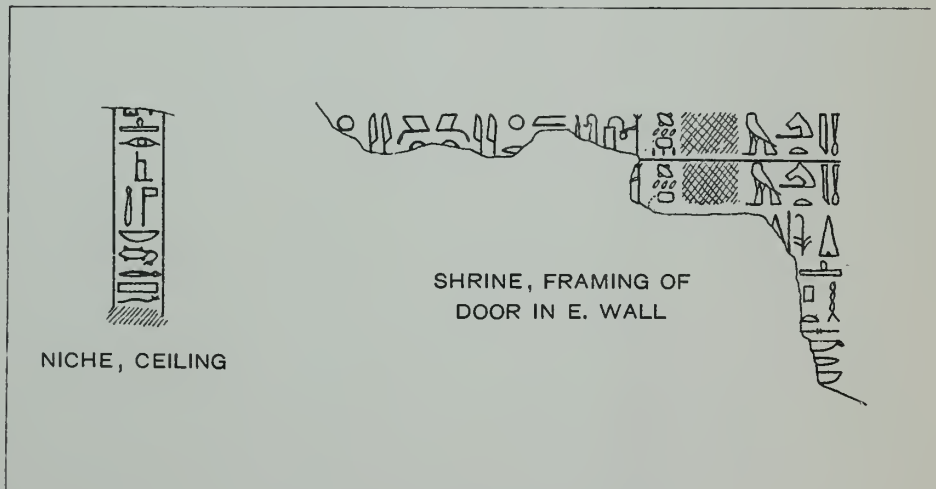
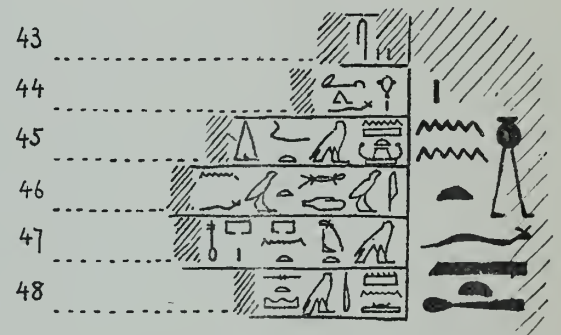
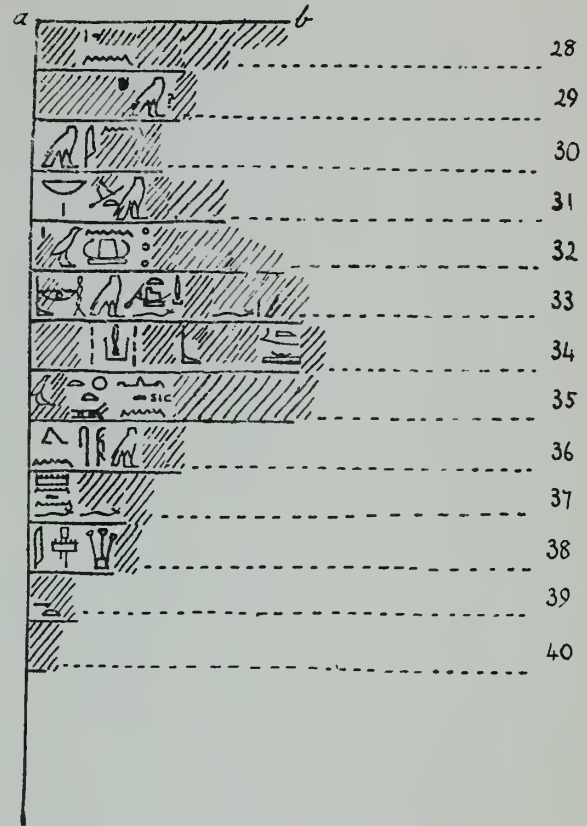
Scale  $\frac{1}{8}$

DOORWAY.





SHRINE: E. WALL, NORTHERN STELE



NICHE, CEILING

SHRINE, FRAMING OF  
DOOR IN E. WALL



THICKNESS OF DOOR FROM  
PASSAGE TO SHRINE, N. SIDE



NICHE, N. SIDE





The figure is a detailed archaeological plan of the West Wall of the Temple of Amenhotep III. It shows seven registers (A-G) of hieroglyphic inscriptions. The plan includes a central hall (A) and a key-plan (B) indicating the wall's orientation (WEST). The registers contain various hieroglyphic groups, some of which are identified as lost or damaged. The plan is oriented with WEST at the top.

**Register A:** Hieroglyphic inscriptions, including a group of symbols at the top right.

**Register B:** Hieroglyphic inscriptions, including a group of symbols at the top right.

**Register C:** Hieroglyphic inscriptions, including a group of symbols at the top right.

**Register D:** Hieroglyphic inscriptions, including a group of symbols at the top right.

**Register E:** Hieroglyphic inscriptions, including a group of symbols at the top right.

**Register F:** Hieroglyphic inscriptions, including a group of symbols at the top right.

**Register G:** Hieroglyphic inscriptions, including a group of symbols at the top right.

**Key-Plan:** A diagram showing the layout of the wall, with registers A-G labeled. The orientation is WEST.

**Hall:** A central area labeled "HALL" with a note "about 20 groups lost".

**Notes:**

- 4 or 5 groups
- 7 or 8 groups
- 6 or 7 groups lost

HALL  
KEY-PLAN

about 20 groups lost

WEST

315

4 or 5 groups

4 or 5 groups  7 or 8 groups  4 groups  5 groups 

7 or 8 groups

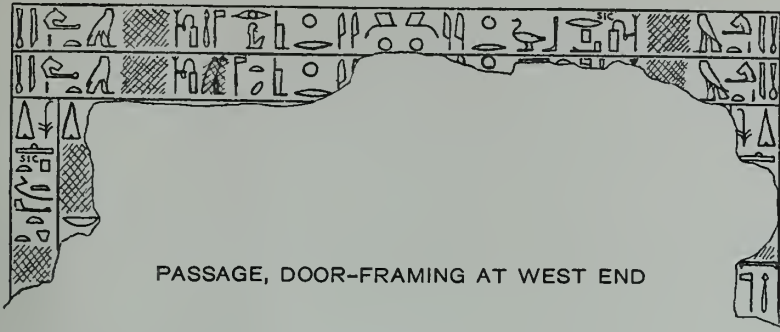
6 or 7 groups lost

a  
long  
gap

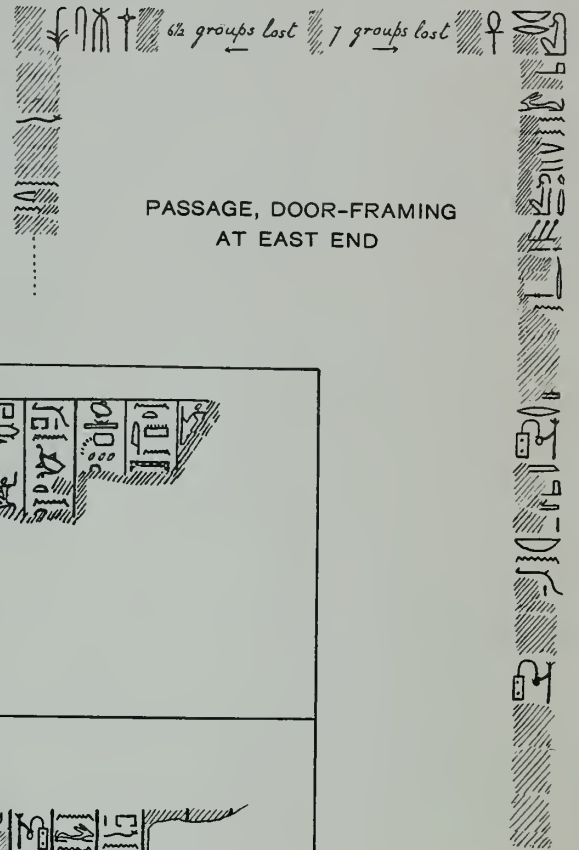
a  
long  
gap



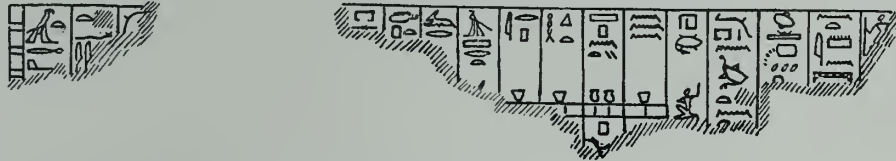




PASSAGE, DOOR-FRAMING AT WEST END



PASSAGE, DOOR-FRAMING  
AT EAST END



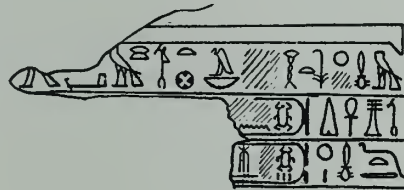
HALL, EAST WALL, NORTHERN HALF, TOP



PASSAGE, SOUTH WALL, WEST END



THICKNESS OF DOOR FROM HALL  
TO PASSAGE, NORTHERN SIDE



LIMESTONE LINTEL AND SAND-  
STONE DOORPOSTS FROM  
ENTRANCE PASSAGE



HALL, FRAMING OF  
DOOR IN WEST  
WALL







A



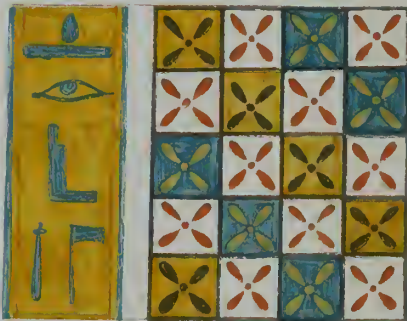
B



D



C



E



F



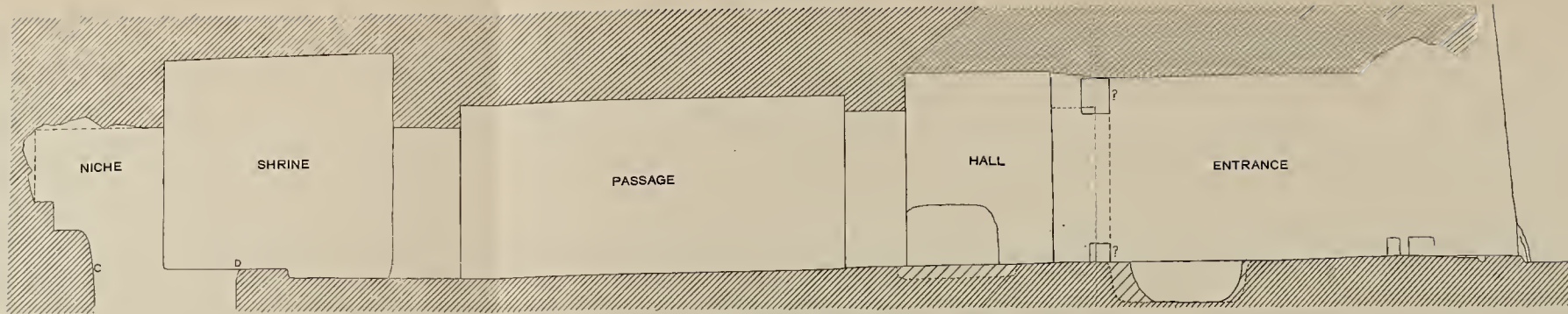
G

SCALE ONE FIFTH

CEILING PATTERNS

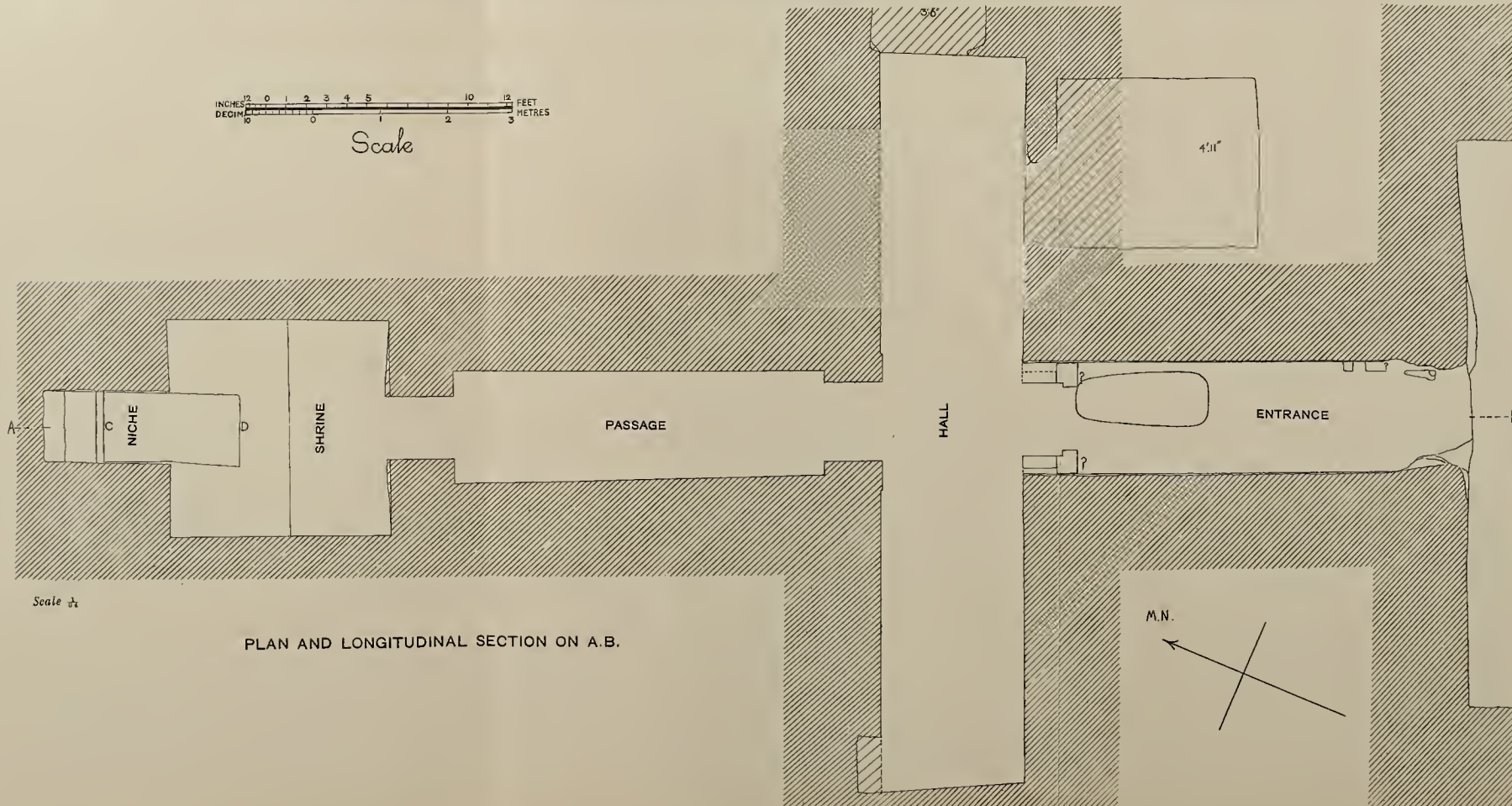






INCHES  
DECIM 12 0 1 2 3 4 5 10 12 FEET  
METRES 3

Scale

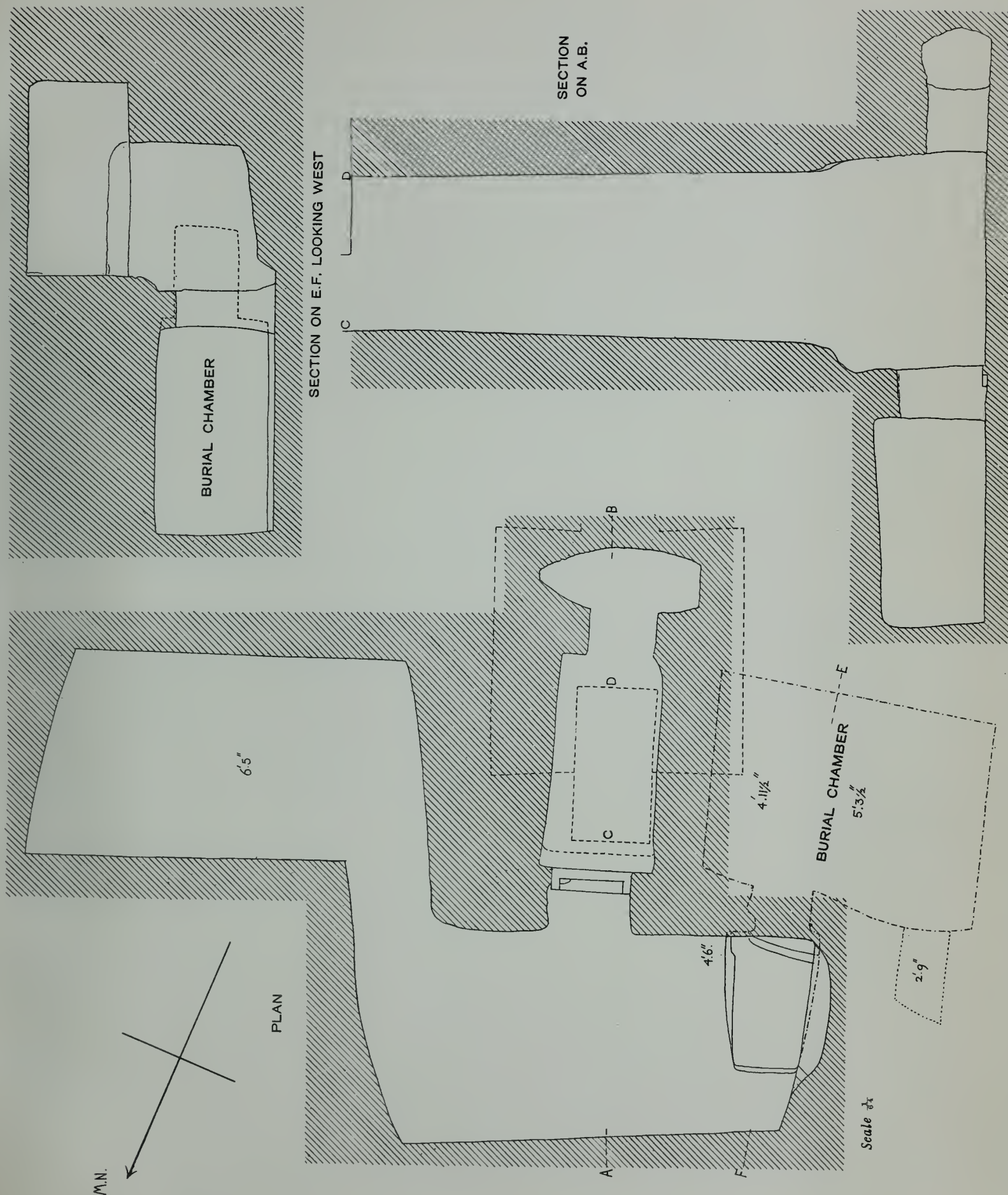


PLAN AND LONGITUDINAL SECTION ON A.B.





HYPOGEUM.







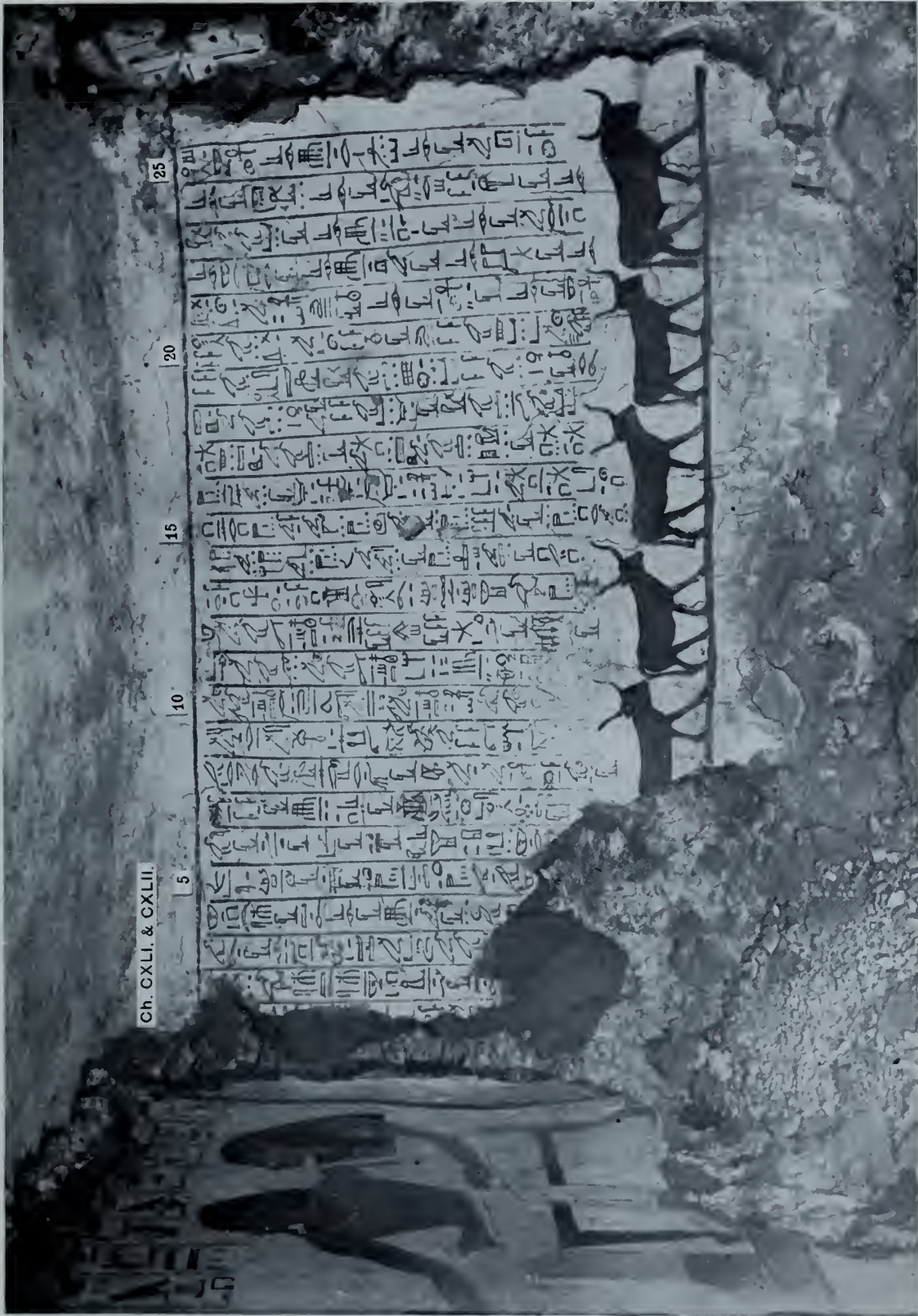
SOUTH WALL.



NORTH WALL.



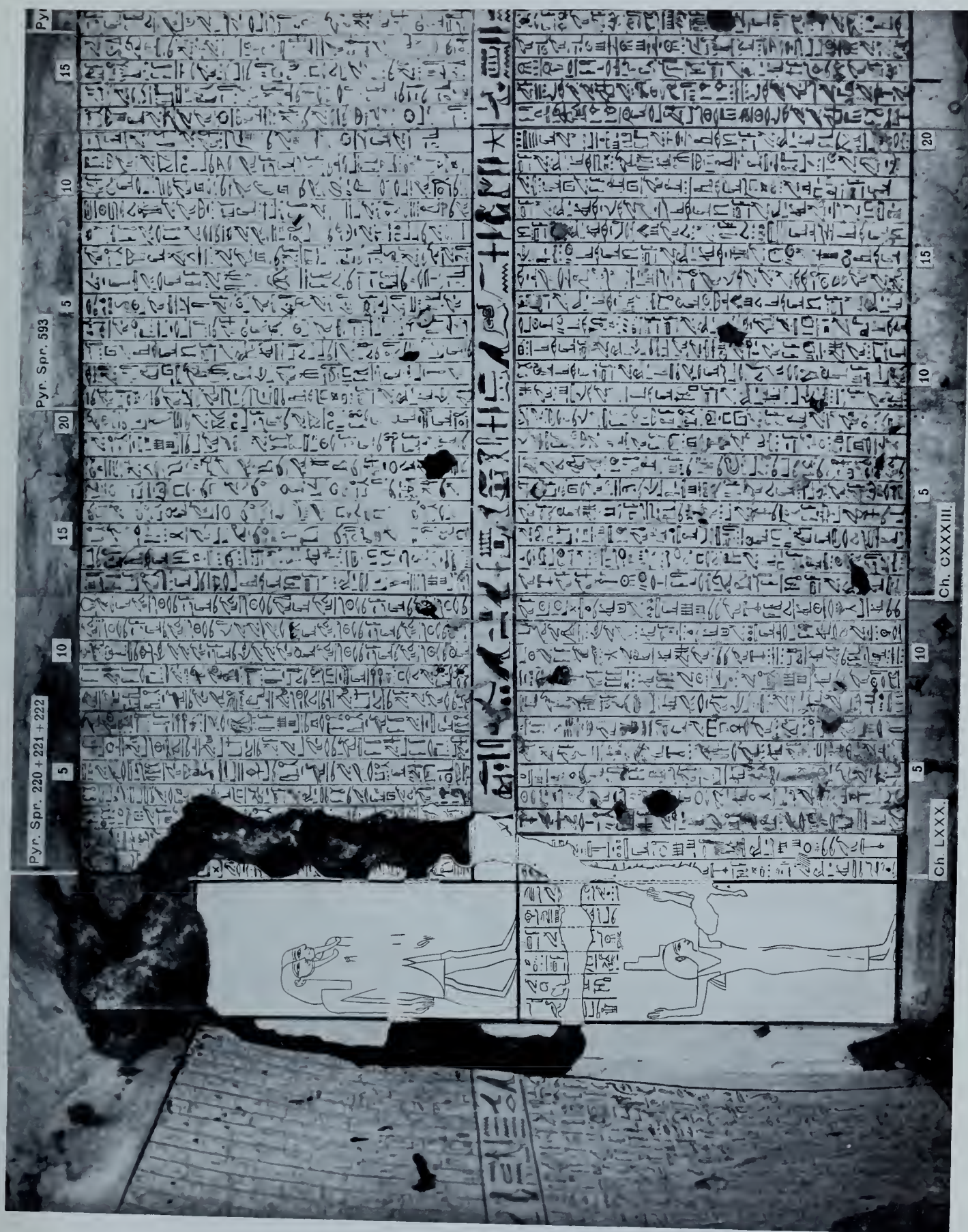




BURIAL CHAMBER: BACK WALL OF NICHE.



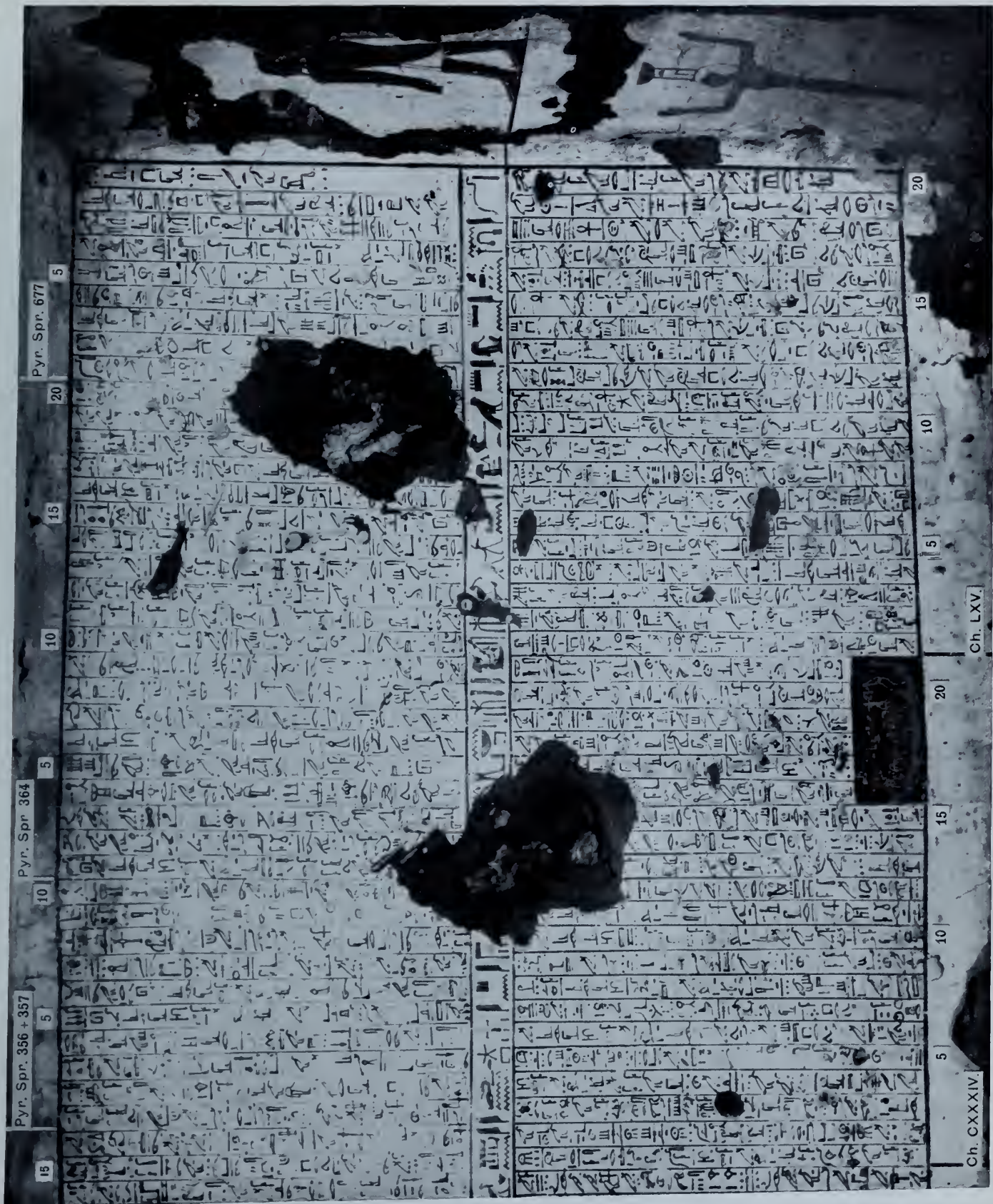




BURIAL CHAMBER: SOUTH WALL (1).







BURIAL CHAMBER: SOUTH WALL (2).







BURIAL CHAMBER: NORTH WALL (1).



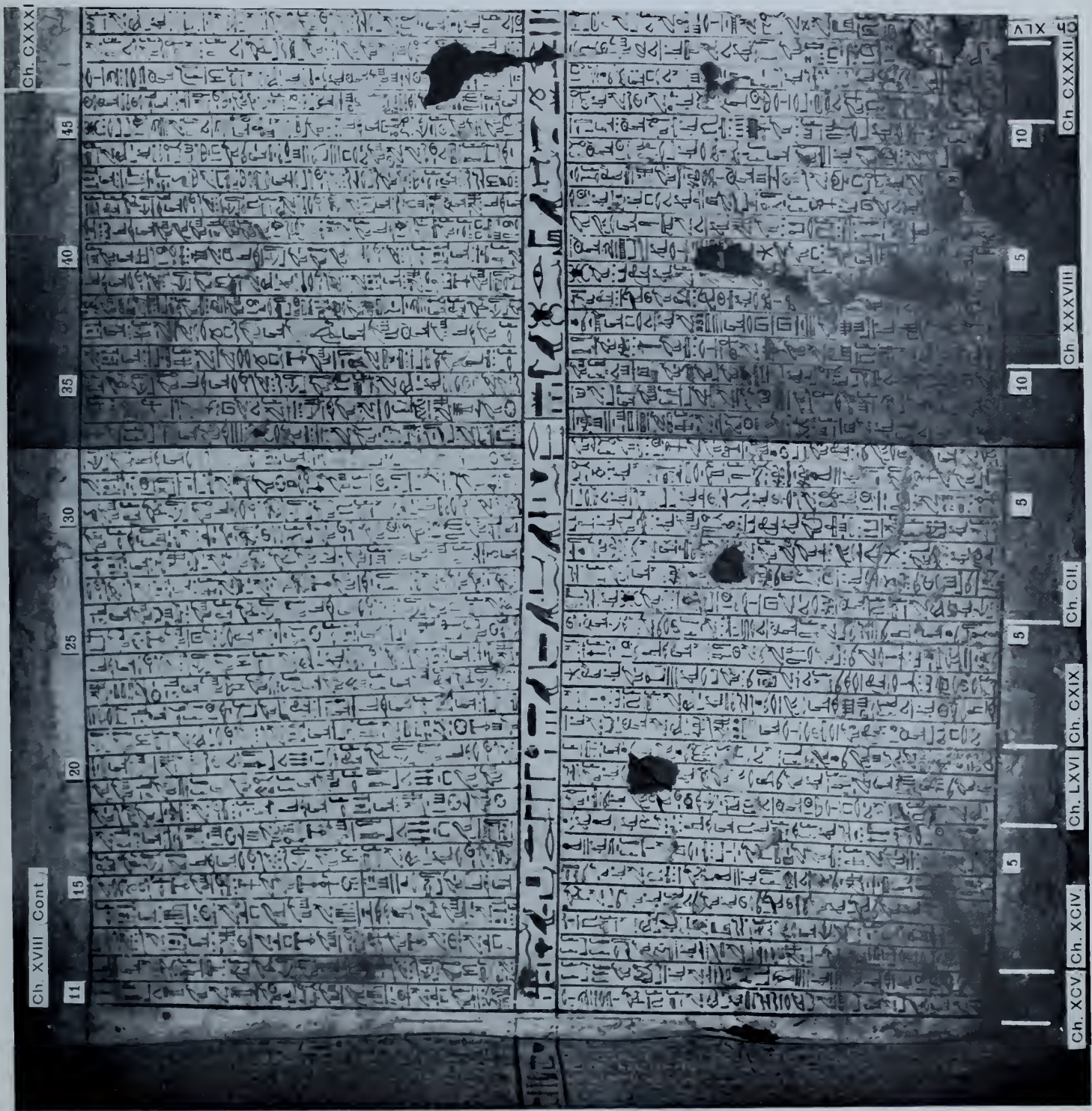




BURIAL CHAMBER: NORTH WALL (2).

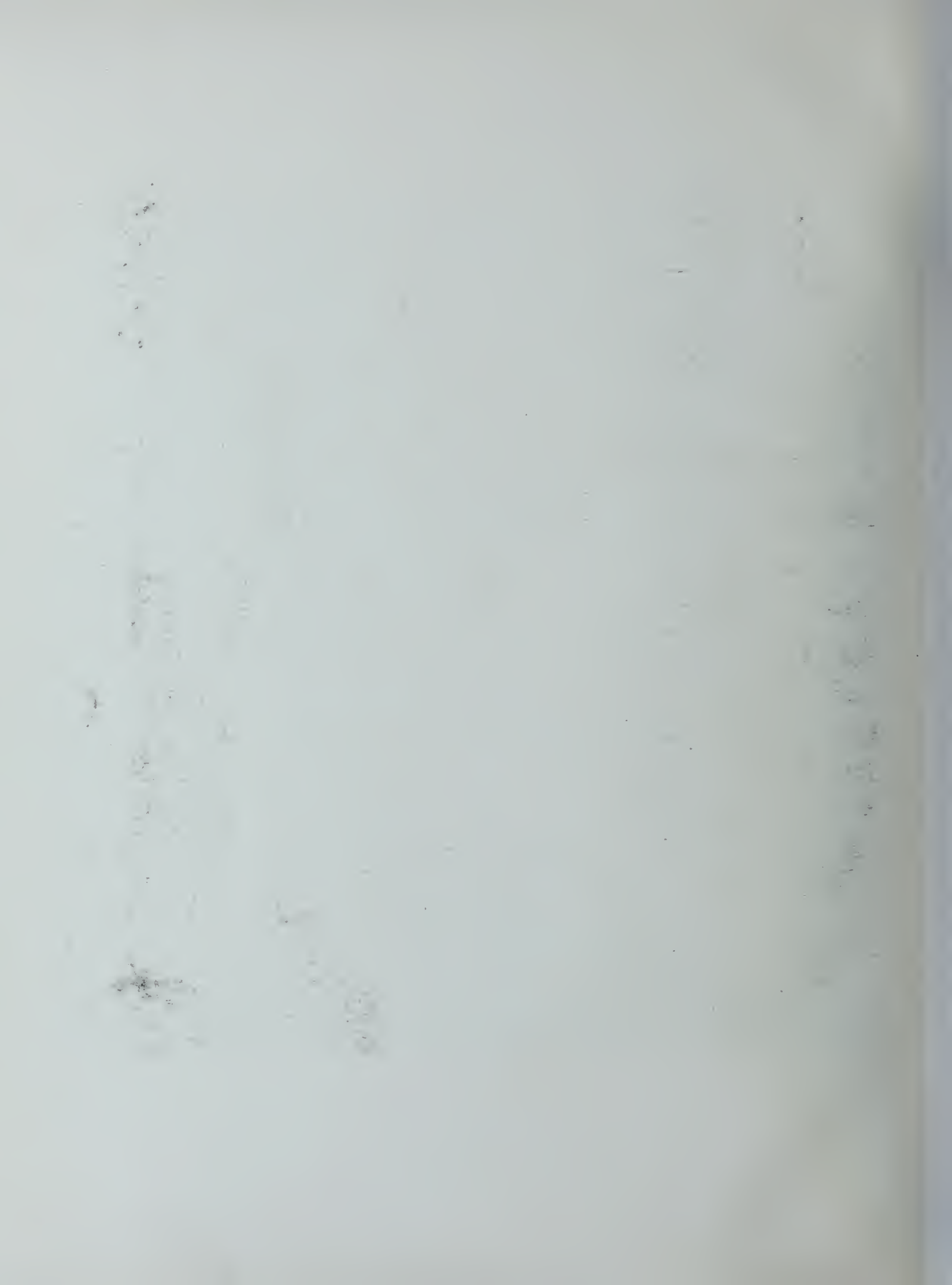


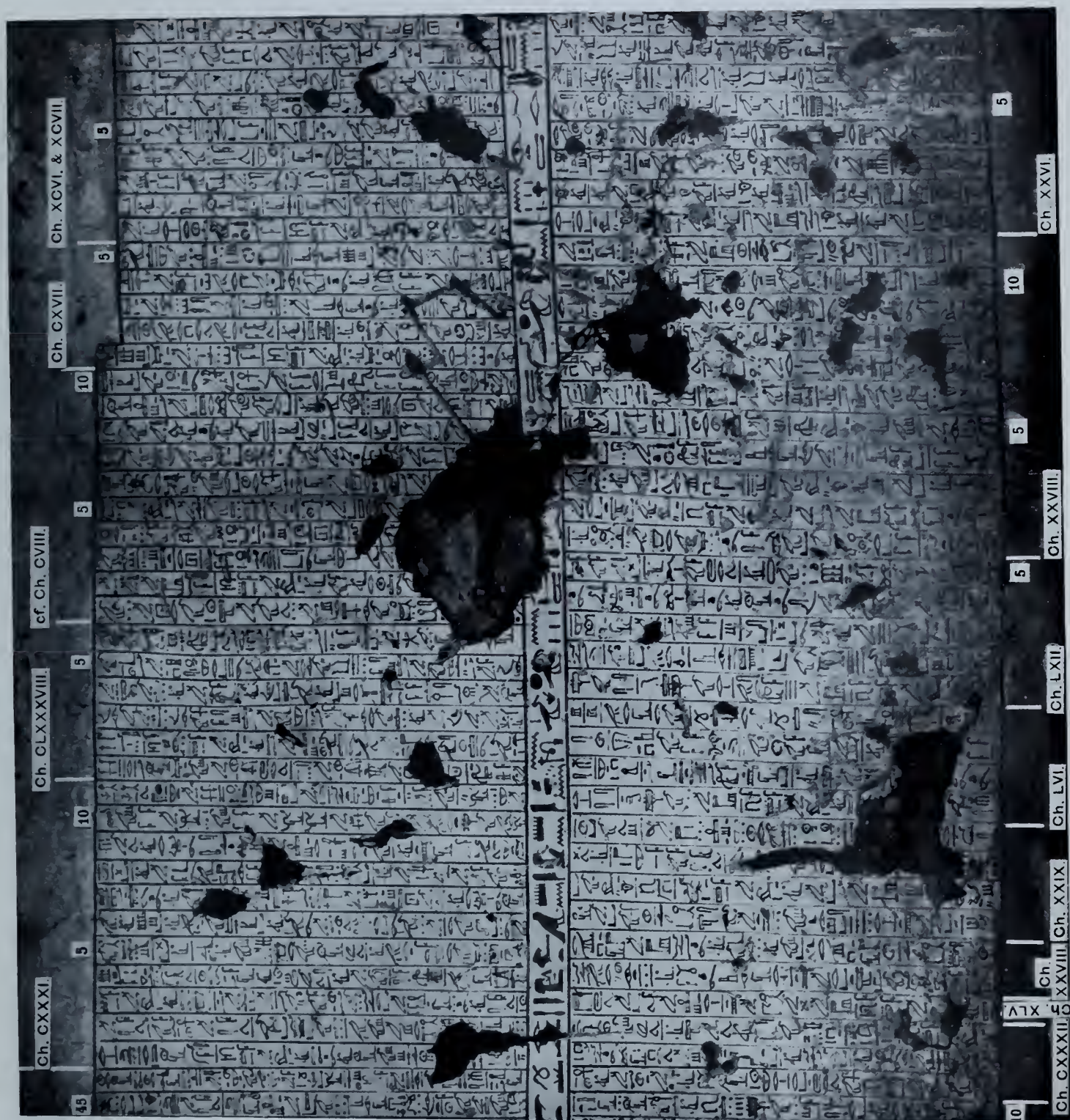




BURIAL CHAMBER: EAST WALL (1).



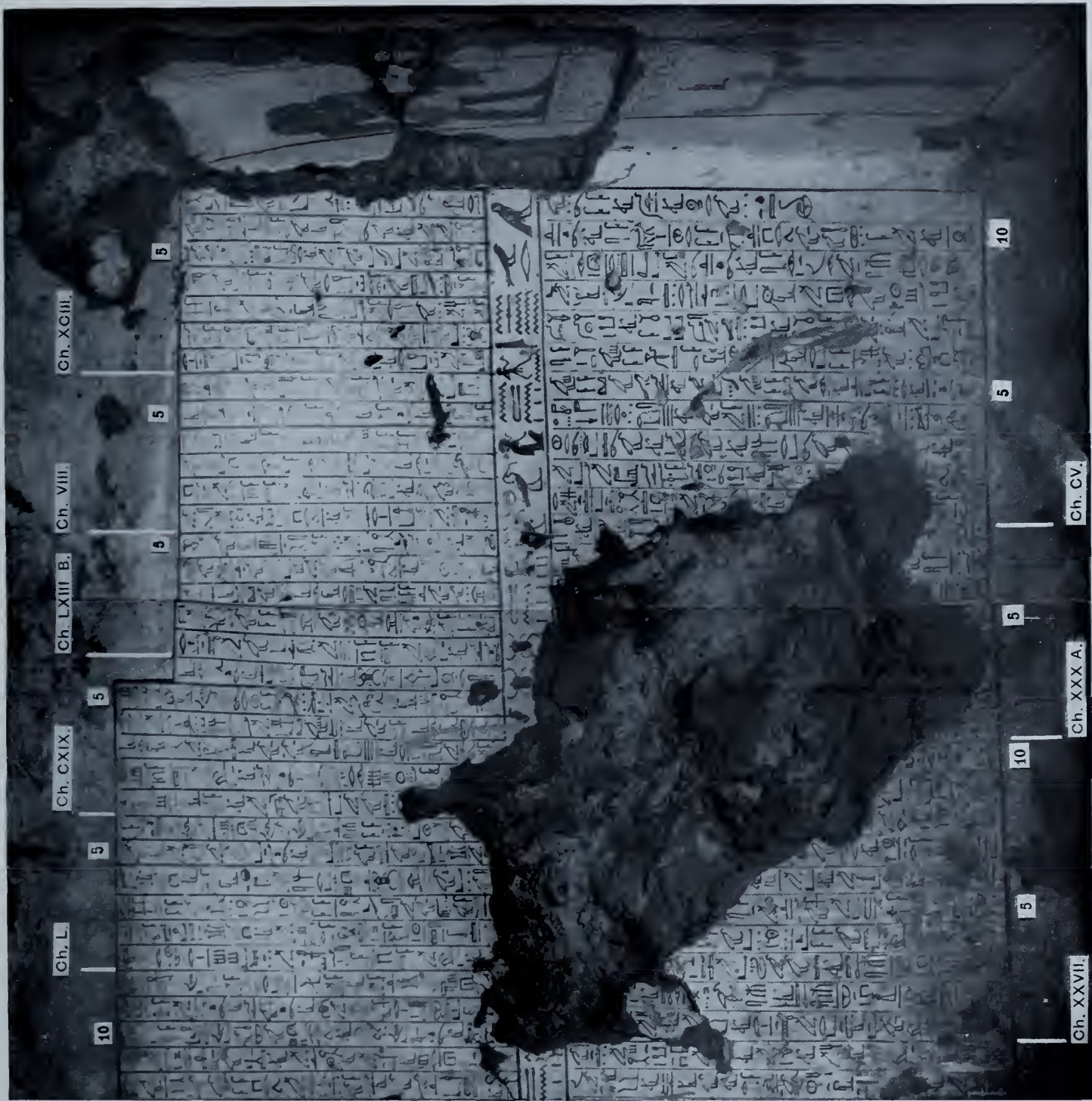




BURIAL CHAMBER: EAST WALL (2).



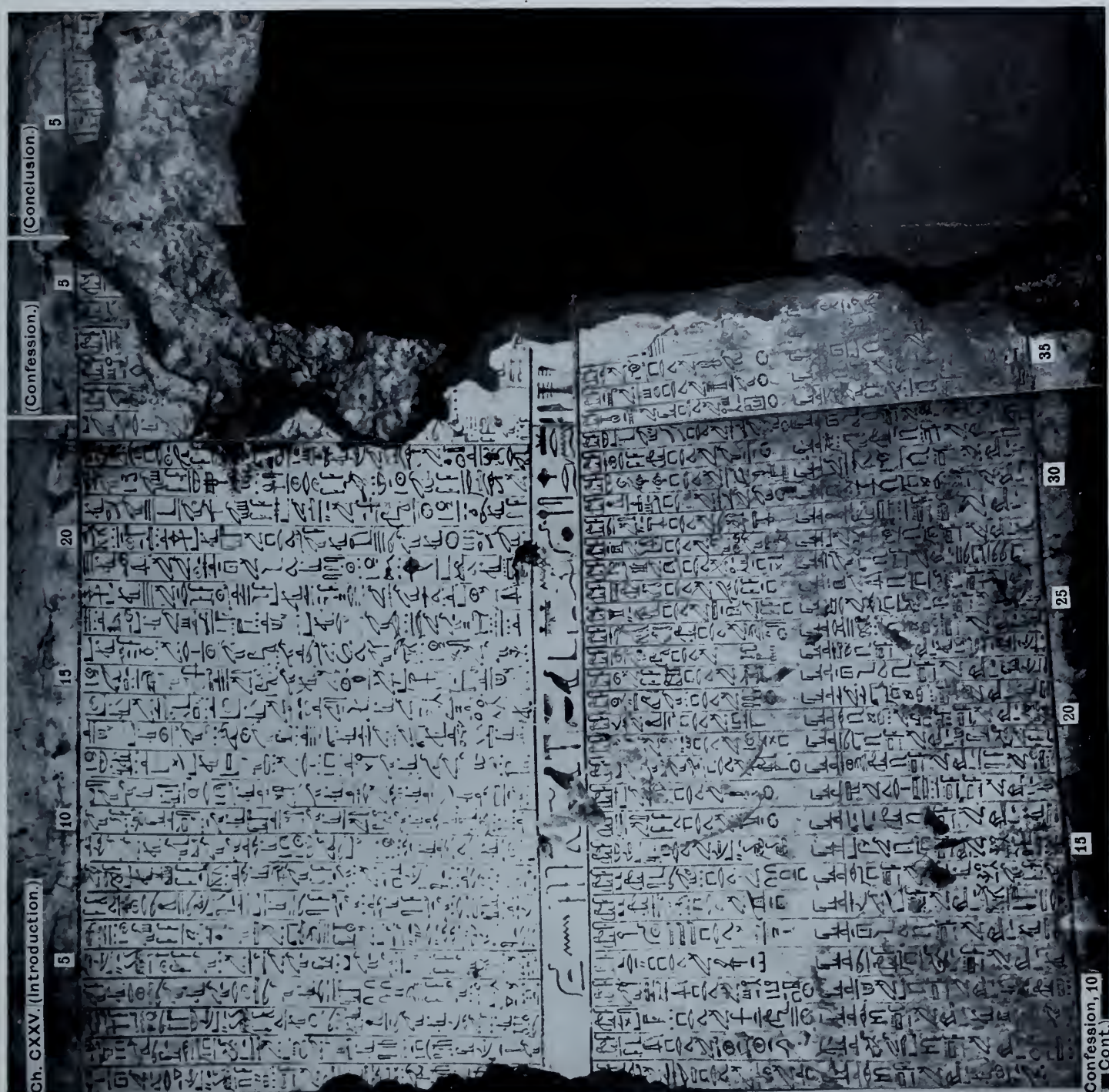




BURIAL CHAMBER: EAST WALL (3).







BURIAL CHAMBER: WEST WALL (1).



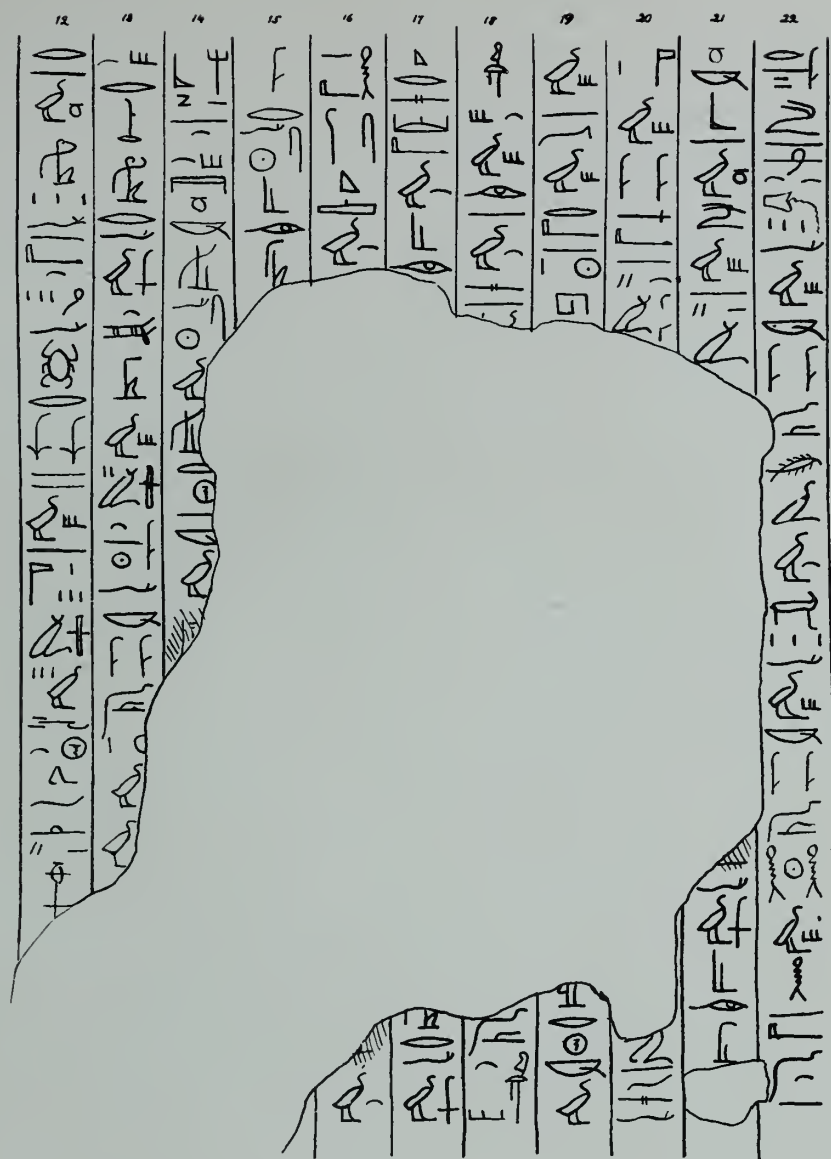




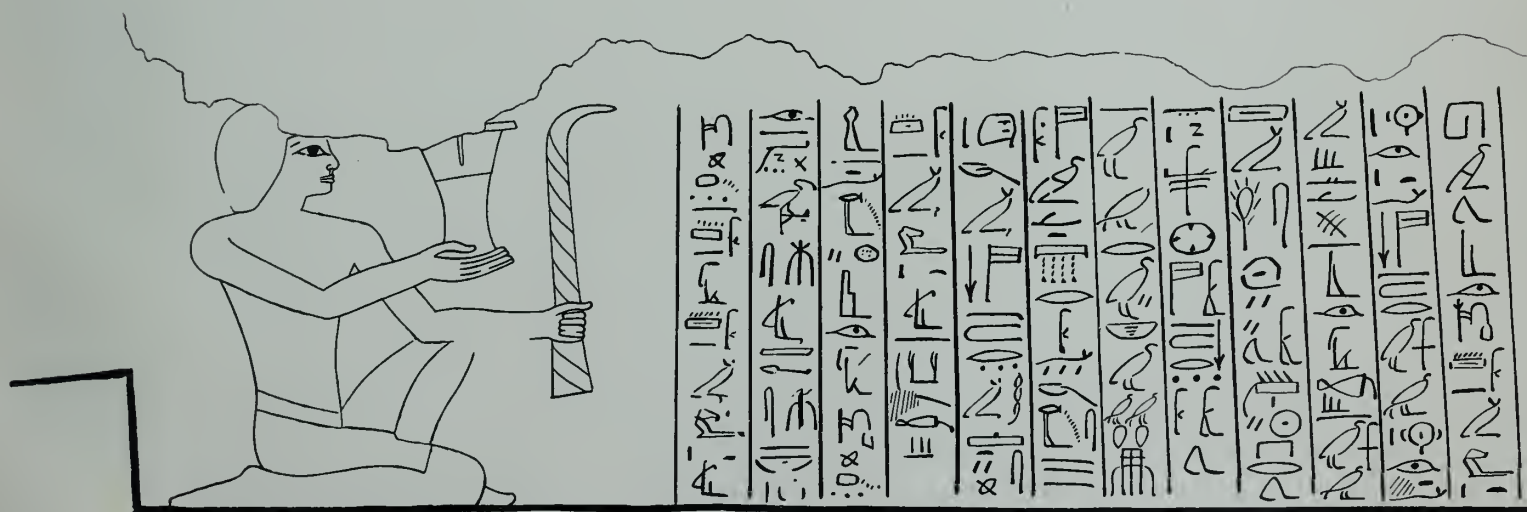
BACK CHAMBER : WEST WALL (2).







NORTH WALL: CH. XVII, LL. 12-22, AS SEEN BY LEPSIUS



WEST WALL: TEXT BELOW THE NICHE

170

424







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